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AN

ESSAY

ON

TRADE.

[Price Two Shillings.]

AN ESSAY ON TRADE.

A

BRIEF ESSAY

ON THE

ADVANTAGES and DISADVANTAGES

Which reſpectively attend

FRANCE and GREAT BRITAIN,

With Regard to

TRADE.

WITH SOME

PROPOSALS

For Removing the

Principal DISADVANTAGES of *GREAT BRITAIN.*

IN A NEW METHOD.

By *JOSIAH TUCKER*, M. A.

Rector of St *Stephens* in *Briſtol*, and Chaplain to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of *Briſtol.*

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To the Right Honourable

THE

EARL of HALIFAX,

First Lord Commiſſioner

For *Trade* and *Plantations.*

MY LORD,

PERMIT me once more to wait upon Your Lordſhip with a new Edition of the enſuing Treatiſe, now greatly enlarg-

enlarged, and, I hope, in ſome Reſpects, made leſs unworthy of Your Lordſhip's Protection. A Treatiſe relating to the Intereſts and Commerce of *Great Britain*, naturally ſeeks to ſhelter itſelf under the Patronage of an EARL of HALIFAX.

BUT there is ſtill a more particular Motive for this Addreſs. His Majeſty, ever ſtudious of the Good of his People, in appointing Your Lordſhip Firſt Commiſſioner of Trade and Plantations, hath ſhewn the moſt vigilant Regard to the Welfare of both, by committing this import-

important Superintendency to Hands univerſally allowed the moſt able, and the moſt inclined to execute ſo great a Truſt with increaſing Succeſs. Your Lordſhip, in a very ſhort Space of Time, has confirmed our warmeſt Hopes. And *Great Britain*, with its dependent Colonies, form to themſelves the moſt pleaſing Proſpects on this Occaſion.

WERE not Your Lordſhip's Candour great as your Abilities, this inconſiderable Performance would never have appear'd before ſo ſkilful a Judge, nor the Author

Author have presumed to profess Himself in so publick a manner, what in great Truth He is, with the utmost Respect and Esteem,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most Obedient,

And most Devoted

Humble Servant,

Josiah Tucker.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

ALL *Commerce* is founded upon the Wants, *natural* or *artificial*, *real* or *imaginary*, which the People of different Countries, or the different Claſſes of Inhabitants of the ſame Country, are deſirous, in defect of their own ſingle Abilities, to ſupply by *mutual* Intercourſe. If this Commerce be carried on between the Inhabitants of the ſame Country, with the Growth or Manufacture of that Country only, it is called HOME CONSUMPTION: which is ſo far ſerviceable, as it preſerves the ſeveral Profeſſions and Stations of Life in their *due Order*, as it promotes Arts and Sciences, with a Rotation of Induſtry, Wealth, and mutual Good Offices between the Members of any Community. For theſe Reaſons, Traffick, merely of this kind, is of great Importance, though it neither *increaſes* nor *diminiſhes* the Publick Stock of Gold and Silver.

BUT Providence having intended that there ſhould be a mutual Dependance and Connection between Mankind in general, we find it almoſt impoſſible for any particular People to live, with tolerable Comfort, and in a *civilized* State, independant of *all* their Neighbours. Beſides, it is natural for Men to extend their Views, and their Wiſhes, beyond the Limits of a ſingle Community, and to be deſirous of enjoying the Produce or Manufactures of other Countries, which they muſt purchaſe by ſome Exchange. Now this Intercourſe with other Nations is called FOREIGN TRADE. And in the Exchange of Commodities, if one Nation pays the other a Quantity of *Gold* or *Silver* over and above its Property of other Kinds, this is called a BALANCE *againſt* that Nation in *favour* of the other. *And the Science of gainful Commerce principally conſiſts in the bringing this ſingle Point to bear* *. Now there can be but one *general* Method for putting it in Practice;

* This is ſpoken with reſpect to the *ultimate* Balance of Trade. For in reference to the *intermediate* Balance, it doth not *always* hold true. A Trade may be *beneficial* to the Nation, where the *Imports* exceed the *Exports*, and conſequently the Balance paid in *Specie*, if that Trade, directly or indirectly, is *neceſſary* for the *carrying* on of another *more profitable* and *advantageous*. But then it is to be obſerved, This Trade is not beneficial, conſidered in *itſelf*, but only as it is *relative* and *ſubſervient* to the carrying on of another. This is the Caſe, with reſpect to the greateſt Part of our Trade to the *Baltick*, and the *Eaſt-Indies*: They are *inſtrumental* in procuring a Balance

Practice; and that is, since Gold and Silver are become the *common Measure* for computing the *Value*, and *regulating* the *Price* of the Commodities or Manufactures of both Countries, To export LARGER *Quantities* of *our own*, and import LESS of *theirs*; so that what is *wanting* in the *Value* of their Merchandise, *compared* with *ours*, may be paid in Gold and Silver. The Consequence of which will be, That these Metals will be continually *increasing* with Us, as far as relates to that *particular* Trade and Nation, and *decreasing* with them. And in what Proportion soever their Money comes into our Country, in that Proportion it may truly be affirmed, That our *Sailors*, *Freighters*, *Merchants*, *Tradesmen*, *Manufacturers*, *Tenants*, *Landlords*, *Duties*, *Taxes*, *Excises*, &c. &c. are paid at *their Expence*.

OR to put the Matter in another Light; when two Countries are exchanging their Produce or Manufactures with each other, that Nation which has the greatest Number employed in this *reciprocal* Trade, is said to receive a Balance from the other; because the Price of the *Overplus* Labour must be paid in Gold and Silver. For Example; If there are only *ten thousand* Persons employed in *England* in mak-

Balance *elsewhere*, though, properly speaking, *disadvantageous* in *themselves*. Which brings the Matter to the Point from whence we set out; *viz.* "That the "Science of gainful Commerce consists, *ultimately*, in "procuring a Balance of Gold or Silver to Ourselves "from other Nations."

ing Goods or raiſing ſome kind of Produce for the Market of *France*; and *forty thouſand* in *France* for the Market of *England*.—Then we muſt pay theſe additional 30,000 *Frenchmen* in Gold and Silver; that is, be at the Charge of maintaining them. This is the cleareſt and juſteſt Method of determining the Balance between Nation and Nation: For though a Difference in the Value of the reſpective Commodities may make ſome Difference in the Sum actually paid to balance Accounts, yet the general Principle, That Labour (not Money) is the Riches of a People, will always prove, That the Advantage is on the ſide of that Nation, which has moſt hands employed in Labour.

THE PRINCIPLES of Trade therefore being ſo *clear* and *certain* in themſelves, and withal ſo *obvious* to any Man of common *Capacity* and *Application*, it is a very ſurprizing Matter how it comes to paſs, that both Men of good Underſtanding are many times totally *ignorant* of them, and Merchants themſelves ſo *divided* in their Sentiments about them.

As to the *firſt* Caſe, perhaps it may be accounted for, if we conſider what *diſadvantageous* Notions Men of a *liberal* and *learned* Education have *imbibed* of this noble and *intereſting* Science; on which the *Riches*, the *Strength*, the *Glory*, and I may add, the *Morals* and *Freedom* of our Country, ſo eſſentially depend. Yet it has been repreſented as a dry un-

enter-

entertaining Subject, dark and crabbed, perplexed with endless Difficulties, not reducible to any fixed and certain Principles; and therefore fit for none, but the *Mercantile* Part of the World, to give themselves any Trouble concerning it. But upon a fair Examination it will perhaps appear, that this Representation is very *false* and *injurious*.

As to the *Second*, it must be indeed confessed, That *Merchants* themselves are very often *divided* in their Sentiments concerning Trade. Sir * *Josiah Child*, Mr *Gee*, Mr *Cary* of *Bristol*, and almost all Commercial Writers, have long ago taken Notice of this Difference of

* The Words of Sir *Josiah Child* strongly corroborate what is here alledged. "Merchants, says he, while "they are in the busy and eager Prosecution of their "particular Trades, although they be very wise and "good Men, are not always the best Judges of Trade, "*as it relates to the Power and Profit of a Kingdom.* "The Reason may be, because their Eyes are so con- "tinually fixed upon what makes for their peculiar Gain "or Loss, that they have no Leisure to expatiate or "turn their Thoughts to what is most advantageous to "the *Kingdom in general.*"—

"The like may be said of all *Shop-keepers*, *Artificers*, "*Clothiers*, and other *Manufacturers*, until they have "left off their Trades, and being Rich, become by the "Purchase of Lands of the same *common Interest* with "most of their Countrymen."

This justly celebrated Writer was himself an Instance of the Truth of this Observation. For, if I am not greatly mistaken, he did not write this very Treatise, *Till he had left off Trade, and being Rich, became by the Purchase of Lands of the same common Interest with the Rest of his Countrymen.*

Opinions. But however *ſtrange* and *unaccountable* it may appear to Perſons not converſant in theſe Matters, there is a very ſtrong and convincing Reaſon, when the Affair is ſearched to the Bottom, for the *diſagreeing* Opinions of different Merchants purſuing their *reſpective* Intereſts. The *leading* Idea, or the Point aimed at by *every* Merchant muſt be, in the Nature of Things, and in *every* Country, a Balance in favour of *himſelf*. But it doth not always follow, That this Balance is likewiſe in favour of the *Nation*; much leſs of *other* Merchants, whoſe Intereſts may be *oppoſite* to his own. While therefore each Perſon ſees in a favourable Light his *own Branch* of Commerce, and deſires to procure all *poſſible Advantages* to that Traffick, on which the *Proſperity* of himſelf and his Family, perhaps *totally*, *depends*, it is but reaſonable to expect their Sentiments ſhould *claſh*.

HENCE therefore ſome have thought, That a Perſon of a *liberal* and *learned* Education, *not concerned* in Trade, is *better qualified* to engage in the Study of it as a SCIENCE, than a *Merchant* himſelf: becauſe, ſay they, his Mind is *freer* from the Prejudice of *Self-Intereſt*, and therefore more open to *Conviction* in Things relating to the *General Good*. They add, That though he may not underſtand the *Buying* and *Selling* of particular Commodities, or the fitteſt *Time* to bring them to a *profitable* Market, (which is the *proper Province* of

of a Merchant) yet he may underſtand, in *what reſpects* the *Nature* of *that* Trade contributes to the *Loſs* or *Gain* of the *Publick*, with a Degree of Evidence, which perhaps the Merchant never thought of: as being indeed not concerned, *merely as a Merchant*, in *ſuch kinds* of Diſquiſitions.

BUT without pretending to determine *who* are the beſt *qualified* to engage in the Study of this moſt uſeful and extenſive Science, let Us rather humbly recommend it to the *Attention* of them *both*. For undoubtedly both have their Advantages; and perhaps the Application of both together, might be more ſucceſsful than either of them ſeparately. If the One ſhould happen to be *leſs* ſelf-intereſted, by means of his Situation in Life, and more *open* to Conviction in Caſes relating to the *general* Good; the Other, for the very ſame Reaſon, is more *ſkilful* in the *Practice* of *Trade*, and a *better Judge*, whether the Project, perhaps ſo fair in *Theory*, is *feaſible* in *Fact*.

AS to the *Private Intereſt* of *Merchants*, which is here ſuppoſed to be a *Biaſs* upon their Minds, this, moſt certainly, coincides, *for the moſt Part*, with the *General* Intereſt of their Country: and *ſo far* it can be no Argument in their *Disfavour*. But nevertheleſs, Truth obliges Us to acknowledge, That in *certain* Caſes, * " A Merchant may have a

* *Britiſh Merchant*, Vol. II. page 141. 8*vo* Edition, 1721. See likewiſe the Inſtances there given to confirm this Obſervation.

" *diſtinct* Intereſt from that of his Country. " He may thrive by a Trade which may prove " her Ruin." Nay more, He may be *impoveriſhed* by a Trade that is *beneficial* to her. But undoubtedly, the Moment he perceives he is carrying on a *loſing* Trade, he will quit it, and employ his Thoughts and his Subſtance in the Proſecution of ſome other. Moreover, as it is a *Balance* in *favour* of *himſelf*, which is the *principal* Object of his Aims and Endeavours, it cannot be expected, but of two Trades, both advantageous to the Community, he will embrace *that* which is moſt profitable to himſelf, though it ſhould happen to be leſs gainful to the Publick. It is a Maxim with Traders, and a juſtifiable one, *To get all that can be got in a legal and honeſt Way*. And if the Laws of their Country do give them the *Permiſſion* of carrying on any particular *gainful* Trade, it is their Buſineſs, as *Merchants*, to *engage* in the Proſecution of it.—As to the great Point of *National* Advantage, or Diſadvantage, this is properly the Concern of others, who ſit at the *Helm* of *Government*, and conſequently whoſe Province it is, *To frame the Laws and Regulations relating to Trade in ſuch a Manner, as may cauſe the Private Intereſt of the Merchant to fall in with the General Good of his Country*.

FOR theſe Reaſons therefore the *Appointment* of the BOARD of TRADE, muſt certainly appear a very *wiſe* and *neceſſary* Inſtitution.

tion. The Intent and Design being, as I humbly conceive, to answer this *very End*. And the *Honourable Members* of it may be looked upon in this Light, as the GUARDIANS of the PUBLICK WELFARE. In *presiding* over the *General* Commercial Interests of the Kingdom, they are to *inspect* the several Branches of Traffick, that are carried on, and to *give Notice* to the *Legislature*, whether the *Profit* of the *Kingdom*, or of the *Merchant*, is most *promoted*; that the proper *Remedies*, or *Encouragements* may be applied, according as the Case requires, by *stopping* up the *former* Channels of a *disadvantageous* Trade, *opening new* ones, which may enrich the *Publick* and the *Adventurer* together; *encouraging* him to *persevere*, and to *enlarge* his Dealings in every Branch, which is *beneficial* to the Community; and in one Word, by *enabling* the Merchant to find his own *private Advantage in labouring* for the *Good* of his *Country*. *Self* and *social* Happiness, in this Case, must be made to UNITE: otherwise it will happen in this, as in most other Affairs, that *social* Happiness will *not* be promoted AT ALL.

AND as the Affairs of Commerce must for these Reasons ultimately come under the *Cognizance* of the *Legislature*, it were greatly to be wished, That Men of *Eminence* and *Distinction*, whose *Birth* and *Fortunes* procure them an Admission into the *British Senate*, would employ a little more of their Time in the Cultivation of a Science, so *worthy* of their

their *greateſt* Regard and Attention. The Intereſt of their Country, and their own, do both concur in requiring ſuch a Conduct from them. I beg Leave to mention not only the Intereſt of their Country, but *their own:* For it is a moſt certain Fact, though not ſufficiently attended to, That the *Landed Gentleman* is more *deeply* concerned in the *National Effects* of an *Advantageous* or *Diſadvantageous* Commerce, than the *Merchant* himſelf. If this Aſſertion ſhould appear a *Paradox* to any one, I hope a few Lines will convince him of the Truth of it.

SUPPOSE then ſome *General* Calamity to befal the Trade of the Kingdom: — Or, to put a more *ſtriking* Caſe, Suppoſe the *Mouth* of the *Thames* to be *choked* up with *Sands* and *Marſhes*, (as that fine River in *France*, the *Rhone*, really is) ſo as to afford no Port worth mentioning for the Purpoſes of Commerce: In ſuch a melancholy Caſe, the *Merchants*, *Manufacturers*, *Owners* of *Ships*, *Sailors*, and all the *Multitudes* of Tradeſmen *dependant* upon this Commerce, would indeed be the *firſt* affected; but they would not be the GREATEST LOSERS. For after the *firſt Shock*, they would *eaſily* remove with the beſt of their Effects, and try their Fortunes elſewhere. But the *Landed Gentleman*, what muſt he do? he is *bound down* to the Soil, and *cannot* remove his Eſtate, though the Perſons are gone, who uſed to *conſume* the *Product* of it. Thus the

Evil

Evil becomes *incurable*, and *perpetual* with regard to him, and every Day *increaſing*: whereas with reſpect to the Merchant, it was only a Shock at firſt, which he has the Chance of getting the better of, by removing to a more advantageous Situation.

IT is fervently to be wiſhed, That Providence may never viſit Us with ſo terrible a Judgment, as the choking up the Mouth of our *Principal* River leading to the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom. But the bare Suppoſal of ſuch a Caſe is ſufficient to prove, I humbly preſume, with irreſiſtible Evidence, That the *Landed* Gentlemen in the Counties *adjacent* to *London*, are more *deeply intereſted* in the Conſequences of the Trade of *London*, than the *Merchants* themſelves: And therefore, That thoſe *ſuppoſed* Diſtinctions of *Landed* Intereſt, and *Trading* Intereſt, in the Senſe they are commonly uſed, are the moſt *idle* and *ſilly*, as well as *falſe* and *injurious*, that ever *divided* Mankind.

BUT above all, we muſt beg Leave to obſerve, by way of *Inducement* to the *Landed Gentleman* to turn his Thoughts to this Study, That his *very private Intereſt* is rather a *Help*, than a *Detriment* to him in the *Proſecution* of it. It puts no *wrong Biaſs* upon his Mind, but directs him to the *true Point* of Light, from whence to ſee, and to judge of theſe Affairs: which is a Circumſtance in ſome reſpect *peculiar* to his Situation.

FOR,

For, if we ſuppoſe the Scene ſtill to continue in and about *London*, (though the ſame would hold true of any other Part of the Kingdom) as the *private Intereſt* of the *Landed* Gentleman ariſes from the *General Commerce* of the Place, he can have no *partial* Views in relation to Trade, nor can reap any Advantage from *Monopolies*, *Excluſive* Companies, or ſuch like deſtructive *Artifices*. The *more* Perſons there are employed in *every* Branch of Buſineſs, the *more* there will be to *conſume* the *Produce* of his *Eſtate*: ſo that he will have no Temptations to complain, That the Trade is over *ſtocked*, or wiſh the *Promotion* of *this* Trade, in order to the *Declenſion* of *that*. In ſhort, his *own Intereſt* is *connected* with the *Good* of the *Whole*; ſo that he cannot but be extremely *well qualified* to *underſtand*, and to *promote* it, if he will pleaſe to make Uſe of the Advantages he is happily poſſeſſed of.

A BRIEF

ESSAY on TRADE.

The principal ADVANTAGES *of* FRANCE *with reſpect to* TRADE.

I. THE *Natural Produce and Commodities of the Country.*—Theſe are *chiefly* Wines, Brandies, Silk, Linen, Hemp, and Oil. I do not mention *Corn*, for for though they raiſe a great Deal, yet, as they are great *Bread-Eaters*, they *conſume* a great Deal, and have little to ſpare for *Exportation.* Their Harveſts alſo are more *precarious* than Ours, and often *fail.*

II. THE

II. THE *Subordination of the Common People is an unſpeakable Advantage to them in reſpect to Trade.*—By this means, the Manufacturers are always kept induſtrious: They dare not run into ſhocking Lewdneſs and Debauchery; to Drunkenneſs they are not inclined. They * are obliged to enter into the married State; whereby they raiſe up large Families to *Labour*, and *keep down* the *Price* of it: and conſequently, by *working cheaper*, enable the Merchant to *ſell* the *cheaper*.

III. THE *Rules and Regulations they are obliged to obſerve in Manufacturing their Goods, and Expoſing them to Sale*, is a great Advantage to the Credit of their Manufactures, and conſequently to Trade. All Sorts of Goods for Exportation, muſt undergo an Inſpection of the proper Officer in the Publick Hall: there they are compared with the *Patterns* or *Samples* delivered in before. The *Bad*, and ſuch as do *not anſwer* to their Samples, are *confiſcated*, with a *Fine* levied upon the *Offender*. By theſe means, the *fraudulent* Deſigns of *private* Traders, who would get *rich* at the *publick Expence*, are *prevented*, and the *National* Manufactury conſtantly kept up in *high Credit*.

IV. *Their excellent Roads, their navigable Rivers and Canals, are of ſingular Advantage to their*

* The Law of *France*, obliges all *unmarried* Men to ſerve as *Common Soldiers* in the Militia and the Army, unleſs they have *particular* Exemptions on Account of their *Stations* and *Profeſſions*.

their Trade. — Their great Roads are always in *good Order*, and always carried on in a *ſtraight* Line, where the Nature of the Ground will permit; and made at a moſt prodigious Expence; each Province being obliged to make and repair their own Roads. And yet there is no Expence for *Turnpikes* from one End of the Kingdom to the other.

THEIR *Rivers* are indeed, for the moſt Part, the Work of Nature: the *Seine*, the *Loire*, the *Garonne*, and the *Rhone*, with all the Rivers which fall into them, help to carry on a Communication with moſt of the great Cities of the Kingdom.

BUT their *Canals* are their own proper Praiſe; and equally deſerving Admiration on Account of their *Grandeur* and *Contrivance*, as for their *Uſefulneſs* to Trade, in *lowering* the *Price* of *Carriage*. Among theſe, that of *Languedoc*, and the two Canals of *Orleans* and *Briare*, are worthy to be particularly mentioned. By means of the former, a Communication is opened between *Bourdeaux* and *Marſeilles*, between the *Ocean* and the *Mediterranean*, without paſſing through the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and ſurrounding all the Coaſts of *Portugal* and *Spain*: and by Virtue of the two latter, an eaſy Intercourſe is maintained between all the great Towns ſituated on the *Seine* and the *Loire*. Many other Canals there are, and more ſtill *intended* to be *made*, greatly *advantageous* to their Commerce.

V. *The* French *enjoy a great Advantage in the Goodneſs of their Sugar Colonies.*—It is not owing to any *ſuperior* Skill in *them*, or *wrong Conduct* in *us*, nor yet any greater *Oeconomy* in their Planters, or *Profuſeneſs* in ours, (for upon the ſtricteſt Enquiry, *both* will be found to be very culpable) that they *exceed* Us in the *Cheapneſs* or *Goodneſs* of their Commodities; but becauſe our *Leeward Iſlands* are *worn out*, being originally of *no Depth* of Soil; and the Ground is more upon a *Level*, conſequently more ſubject to be *burnt* up; whereas their Iſlands are ſtill very good. In *Martinico* particularly the Ground is *rich*, the Soil *deep*, diverſified with *high Hills*, affording *copious Streams* of Water, and refreſhing *Shades*. Another great Advantage which the *French* have over the *Engliſh* in their Sugar Colonies, is their *Agrarian Law*, whereby Monopoliſts are prevented from engroſſing too much Land. So that the Number of Whites are greatly encreaſed, the Lands improved, more Commodities raiſed, the Planters *obliged* to a more frugal manner of Living, and all things rendred cheaper. By theſe Means *Martinico* can muſter 16,000 fighting Men; but *Jamaica*, which is near three times as large, only 4,000. Add to this, that the Inhabitants of *old France* do not uſe the *tenth* Part of the Sugars for *Home Conſumption*, which the *Engliſh* do; and therefore have that Commodity to *export* again to *Foreign* Markets, and with it to *encreaſe* the *National* Wealth.

VI. *The*

VI. *The* French *Colonies receive all their Luxuries and Refinements of Living from their Mother Country*; which is a very great Advantage to it.—They are not *ſuffered*, nor indeed doth it appear, that they are much *inclined* to go to any other *Shop* or *Market* for *theſe Things*. Neither have they ſet up any *Manufactures* of their own, to the *Prejudice* of their Mother Country. Indeed, as to the *Neceſſaries* of Life, they ſupply themſelves with *them* where they *can*; and frequently buy of the *Engliſh*. But this is a Caſe of *Neceſſity*, which *cannot* be ſubject to *Reſtraints*. As to Articles of *Luxury*, *Parade*, and *Pleaſure*, we very ſeldom hear that they buy any of *them* from Us.

VII. *The Manner of Collecting their Duties on ſeveral Sorts of Goods imported*, is of greater Advantage to Trade, than can eaſily be imagined.—In the Port of *Bourdeaux* (and I take it for granted ſo good a Regulation obtains in *other* Places) there are Publick Warehouſes, very *proper* and *convenient*, adjoining to the Cuſtom-houſe. And all Proviſions and Goods neceſſary for the Uſe of their Sugar Colonies, are there depoſited by the Merchant, till the Ship ſails, *Duty free*, paying only a moderate Price for Cellerage. When ſhe returns, the Sugars, *&c.* are landed in the King's Warehouſes, where they remain, till the Importer has found a Purchaſer for a proper Quantity: Then he pays the Duty for *that*, and has it

taken away, letting the Reſt continue. Or if he intends theſe Goods for *Exportation*, there they lie ready and convenient. By this means he is never driven to *Streights* on Account of the King's Duty; and is enabled to carry on a very *extenſive* Trade with a *ſmall* Stock. The Conſequence of which is, That many Perſons are hereby capacitated to enter *conſiderably* into Commerce, who could not otherwiſe have done it. For One Thouſand Pounds Sterling in *France*, will go near as far as Two Thouſand Pounds in *England*. — Not to mention, That as there is no Money immediately advanced on Account of the King's Duty, the whole Gains of the Merchant will ariſe only from the Money *actually* in Trade: Now as this is leſs by near *one half* to what it would have been, had the Duty been all paid *at once*; conſequently he can afford to ſell *one half* leſs than he muſt have demanded in the other Caſe.

VIII. *Their Neighbourhood to* Spain, *and preſent Connection with it*, is of ſo great Advantage, as to be worth all their Trade beſides. —For it is certain, They get *more* from the *Spaniards* than all the Trading Nations in *Europe*. Their *Poor* from *Perigord*, *Limoſin*, and other Places, come *yearly* into *Spain* to *reap* their Corn, and *gather* in their Vintage; and *carry back* what they have earned to *ſpend* in *France*. The *Fiſhermen* from *Bayonne*, and the neighbouring Places, ſupply them with great

great Quantities both of *freſh* and *ſalt* Fiſh to eat on *Faſt-Days*, and to keep *Lent*. The *Pedlars* and *Shop-keepers* in *Spain* are moſtly *French*, who retire into their *own Country*, when they have made their *Fortunes*. The Towns in *Languedoc* ſupply them with Cloth, Silks, and Stockings; *Roüen* with Hats, and coarſe Linen Stuffs; *Abbeville*, with ſuperfine Cloths; *Amiens* and *Arras*, with Worſted and Camblet Stuffs; and *Lions*, with all Sorts of rich Silks, Gold and Silver Lace, *&c.* for their Conſumption both in *Europe* and *America*. In ſhort, the greateſt Part of the Produce of the Mines of *Potoſi* is brought into *France*. Hence it is, that their Payments are all in *Silver*: and *Gold* is more ſcarce in *France*, in the Currency of Coin, than Silver is in *England*. A plain Proof, that *they* have the great Trade to *Spain*, as *we* have to *Portugal*.

IX. *Their Addreſs in drawing raw Materials from other Countries to work up in their own*, ſerves greatly to enlarge and extend their Trade.—*France* produces ſome *Wool* and *Silk*; but not a *fourth Part* of what they *manufacture*. Wool they import from *Barbary*, the *Levant*, and *Spain*. They alſo bring Wool from *Switzerland*. Some little perhaps is run from *England*; but, I have good Reaſon to believe, not much. The Quantity from *Ireland* is very *conſiderable*; which is owing to our own wrong Policy. The beſt of their raw Silk they draw from *Piemont*, the *Le-*

vant, *Italy*, and *Spain*. Their Cotton is brought from the *Levant*, and from their Sugar Colonies. And the *Aſhes* for making *Soap* at *Marſeilles*, are chiefly imported from *Egypt*.

X. *They reap unſpeakable Advantage, by the Permiſſion and Encouragement given to Foreign Merchants and Manufacturers to ſettle among them.*—By this *good Policy* the Price of Labour is always kept *ſufficiently* low. A *Competition* and *Emulation* are raiſed, *who* ſhall work, and ſell the *cheapeſt*; which muſt turn out greatly to the *National* Advantage, though it may not be ſo favourable to the *private Intereſt* of *Individuals*. For theſe Reaſons, the Government is particularly *gentle* and *indulgent* to *Foreigners*. And the Situation of the Country is greatly aſſiſtant to this Diſpoſition of the Government. — *France* is ſurrounded with populous, that is, *prolifick* Nations, who have no Trade and Manufactures of their own to employ their Poor. *Flanders*, all *Germany* on the Side of the *Rhine*, *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, and ſome Parts of *Italy*, pour their ſupernumerary Hands *every Year* into *France*; where they are *careſſed*, and received into the Army, or the Manufacture, according to their Inclinations. The *Rhone* is ſo eaſy and cheap a Conveyance, for the Swarms of Inhabitants bordering on the Lake of *Geneva*, that ſo ſmall a Sum as One Shilling, or Eighteen Pence each

each Perſon, will bring them to the chief Manufacturing Town in the Kingdom, *viz. Lions.* And there are ſaid to be no leſs than Ten Thouſand *Swiſs* and *Germans* employed in that City. The Numbers alſo in all the other Commercial Towns are very great, and daily increaſing.

XI. *The* Engliſh *Monopolies, which are ſo deſtructive to the Intereſts of* Great Britain, *become, for the very ſame Reaſon, of the greateſt Benefit and Advantage to* France. — *Marſeilles* is a flagrant, and a melancholy Proof of this Aſſertion. For the Trade of this Place hath *flouriſhed* and *increaſed* juſt in the ſame Proportion, as that of our *Turky* Company *ſunk* and *declined.* All the fine Streets and new Buildings of the City, date their Original from *this Period.* So that we may truly ſay, They were *built*, and are now *ſupported*, by the *excluſive Turky* Company of *England.* Moreover, the *Engliſh Hudſon's-Bay* Company is the only Cauſe, which can make the *French* Settlements in ſo wretched a Country as the Northern Parts of *Canada*, to flouriſh; with ſo difficult and dangerous a Navigation, as that up the Bay of St *Lawrence.* It is this, and *no other*, is the Cauſe that enables them to *extend* their Colonies, and to *underſell* the *Engliſh* in all the Articles of Furr; which they apparently do in Times of Peace.

XII. *The publick Stock of Wealth is greatly encreaſed, by Foreigners of all Countries travelling among them.*—The Advantages from hence accruing have not been ſo much attended to, as, I humbly think, they juſtly *deſerve*. For while theſe Foreigners reſide in the Country, they not only pay for their *Food* and *Board* at an *high Rate*, but they alſo *cloath* themſelves with the *Manufactures* of it, and *buy* many *Curioſities*. But this is not all: For having contracted a *Liking* to the *Produce* and *Manufactures* of the Country they travelled in, they *continue* to uſe them when they are returned to their own; and ſo *introduce* them to the *Knowledge*, *Eſteem*, and *Approbation* of others: This begets a *Demand*; and a Demand for them draws on a *Correſpondence*, and a *ſettled* Commerce. Theſe are the Advantages which the *French* enjoy by ſuch *Numbers* of Foreigners *travelling* among them; whereas they ſcarce ever travel themſelves; and by that Means circulate the Money in their own Country.

XIII. FRANCE *enjoys no ſmall Advantage, as it doth not loſe much by the Article of Smuggling*, in compariſon to what *England* doth.—This is owing to the Strictneſs of their Government, the many Spies they have upon every Man's Actions, and being able to puniſh the ſlighteſt Offence more ſeverely, and in a more ſummary Way than we can, or is conſiſtent with a free Conſtitution to do.

The

The Principal DISADVANTAGES *of* FRANCE *with regard to* TRADE.

I. *THE first Disadvantage to a free Trade is the Government, which is arbitrary and despotick*; and therefore such as a Merchant would not chuse to live under, if he knows the Sweets of Liberty in another Country, and has no Attachment of Family, or Interest to keep him still in *France*. — It must be acknowledged, his *Property*, generally speaking, is *secure* enough, but his *Person* is not so. To explain this, we must beg Leave to observe, That though there are *fixed* and *stated* Laws in *France* to decide all Cases of *Property*, and *criminal* Causes, as here in *England*; so that a Man may know the Rules he is to be governed by in those Respects, and can have an *open* Trial for his Life and Fortune: yet there are no Laws to ascertain the Nature of *Political* Offences, or to *circumscribe* the Power of the Judge: So that he must be *entirely* at the *Mercy* of the *Lieutenant de Police*, and his Deputies; who can *imprison* him at *will*, without assigning *any* Reason, or bringing any Evidence to confront him. And therefore his *only* Security consists, in being con-

tinually *laviſh* in the *Praiſe* of the *King* and the *Miniſtry*, and in ſaying nothing which may afford the leaſt Pretence to the *Spies*, who *ſwarm* all over the Kingdom, to *inform* againſt him.

II. *The ſecond Diſadvantage to the Freedom of Trade, is the* Romiſh *Religion*; which has added to its many other Abſurdities, a Spirit of *Cruelty* and *Perſecution*, ſo *repugnant* to the *Scope* and *Tendency* of the *Goſpel*.—Therefore a *Proteſtant* Merchant, if at the ſame Time a *conſcientious* Man, will find himſelf very often reduced to great Difficulties, in order to *avoid* on the one Hand the *Sin* of *Hypocriſy*, by *Compliances* againſt his *Conſcience*, or on the other, the *Danger* attending the *Exerciſe* of his *Religion*, and the *Educating* of his Children in the *Proteſtant* Way. This, I ſay, will often happen, even at *preſent*; though the *Bigotry* of the Court of *France* is not near ſo great, as it was in *former* times.

III. ANOTHER great *Burden*, and conſequently a *Diſadvantage* to the *Trade* of *France*, is, *The great Number of Religious of both Sexes*. —The loweſt Computation of theſe amounts to near Three Hundred Thouſand Perſons: a great Part of which Number might, and would be employed in *Trade* and *Manufactures*; and the Reſt might be uſeful to Society in other Spheres. But that is not all; They are a very heavy Weight upon the Publick. *Vaſt* Eſtates are *appropriated* for the *Support* of *ſome* of theſe Religious

Religious Orders, whose Fund is continually *accumulating*, not only by *Legacies* and *Donations*, but also by whatever Fortune *each* Person is *possessed* of, at the Time of *taking* the *Vow*. And others, who are of the *Mendicant* Orders, and are allowed to have *no Property*, become a continual *Tax* upon the *Industry* and *Charity* of the People; and these mostly of the *middling* and *lower* Sort. Not to mention the increasing Riches and *dead* Wealth in *all* their Churches.

IV. A fourth great *Disadvantage* to the Trade of *France*, *is their numerous and poor Nobility*. — The *Nature* and *Constitution* of that Government require the Notion of *Birth* and *Family* to be kept up *very high*, as it will always create an *indigent* Nobility, and consequently *dependant* upon the Court for *such* Preferments as may not *deroge*; or bring a *Stain* upon their Family. Moreover, the same *refined* Policy induces the Court to make the *Military* Service be esteemed the most *Honourable*; as it must render the whole Body of the Nobility *Soldiers to fight their Battles*; the *Richer* serving for *Glory*, and the *Poorer* for an *honourable* Support. The Consequence of all this is, That they heartily *despise* the *Bourgeois**, that is, the *Merchant* and *Tradesman*:

* In *France*, the Inhabitants are usually *distinguished* by three Ranks, or Orders; The *Noblesse*, the *Bourgeois*, and the *Paisans*. Each of these are totally distinct from the other. The *Posterity* of the *Noblesse* are *all* Noblesse, though ever so *poor*, and though not *honoured*

man: and he, when he gets rich, is as desirous of quitting so *dishonourable* an Employ, wherein his Riches cannot secure him from *Insult* and *Contempt*. Being therefore ambitious of raising his own Family to be of the *Noblesse*, he leaves off Trade as soon as he can, and breeds up his Sons to the *Military* Profession, or purchases some Office in the Law or Civil Government, which may *ennoble* them.

V. THE Trade of *France* suffers another Inconveniency by the *Nature of its Taxes*. — Some of these, in *certain* Provinces, are very *arbitrary*; as the *Taille*, which is levied mostly upon the poor *Peasants* and *Manufacturers* in the Country Villages. Others are very *heavy*; as the Duty upon *Salt*, which is *shockingly*

honoured with the Titles of *Count*, *Marquis*, &c. as *Noblemen* are here in *England*. The *Posterity* of a *Bourgeois*, though ever so *rich*, and though the Family have *left off* Trade a Hundred Years ago, are still *but Bourgeois*, until they are *ennobled* by *Patent*, or have wiped off the Disgrace of having been Merchants, by some *signal Military* Service, or have *purchased* some *honourable* Employ. Therefore when the *Noblesse* call the *Merchants Bourgeois*, Burgesses, they mean it as a Term of *Infamy* and *Reproach*, answering to that of *pitiful low Mechanick* in *English*. Indeed, by some Ordinances, the Noblesse are permitted to engage in certain Branches of *foreign* and *wholesale* Trade, *without* bringing any *Stain* upon their Family. But these Permissions will have very little Efficacy to induce the Nobility to turn Merchants, as long as the Military Service is so *highly exalted* in Credit and Reputation *above* Merchandize. The very *Genius* of the Government, makes it a SCANDAL not to be a *Soldier:* Laws will have little Force against this.

ſhockingly oppreſſive. Others again, though not quite ſo oppreſſive, are yet equally *improperly* laid; becauſe they are upon the *Neceſſaries* of Life, which are to feed the *Tradeſman*, and to *victual* the *Shipping*. Thus, for Example, all Sorts of *Proviſions*, Corn, Wine, Butchers Meat, Poultry, Eggs, Fiſh, Garden-Stuff, and Fruit, pay a *Duty* at the *Entrance* of ſome of their great Cities. There are Duties alſo lately laid upon *Soap* and *Candles*. And in the *Païs des Etats*, where the *moſt grievous* of theſe Impoſts are not levied, they lay a *Provincial* Duty upon all Things going *in* or *out* of that *Province*; which makes the Merchandize ſo *paſſing* through, become the *dearer* at a *foreign* Market.

VI. THE *Maitriſes*, which ſo generally prevail in *France*, is a *Clog to the Trade of the Country*.—Theſe Maitriſes are much the ſame as our *Companies* in *Towns Corporate*; only we have this Advantage, That in *England* their pernicious Effects can be more eaſily eluded by having Shops, *&c.* within Glaſs Windows. Beſides, our *beſt* Manufacturing Towns, ſuch as *Brimingham*, *Mancheſter*, *Leeds*, and even four fifths of *London* itſelf, viz. *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, and all the Suburbs, have no Companies at all. Whereas in *France* all Tradesmen are obliged to be free of their proper Maitriſe, before they can ſet up. The Fine for this, in ſome Trades, is very conſiderable. And there is alſo in Time of War, an *annual* Demand

Demand of a certain Proportion of Men out of each Maitriſe; which is underſtood to imply a *Sum* of *Money* by way of *equivalent*. Thus, the more theſe Maitriſes become uſeful to ſupply the Exigencies of the Government at a Pinch, the more Privileges they will acquire; and the greater the Privilege is of any *particular* Company, the leſs will be the *general* Trade of the Country.

VII. THE *French* ſuſtain ſome Diſadvantage by their *Monopolies and excluſive Charters*. — They have an *Eaſt-India* Company at *Port l'Orient*: *Marſeilles* is a free Port for the *Levant* and *Barbary* Trade; whereas there is a Duty of 20 *per Cent.* upon all Merchandize of thoſe Countries, if imported into any *other* Port of *France* in the *Mediterranean*. And even at *Marſeilles*, there is a particular excluſive Company for importing Corn and Wool from *Africa*. *Lions* is free for all Silk entring, or going out; whereas there is an heavy Duty in the neighbouring Towns; by which means, *Lions* may be ſaid to have an excluſive Charter. And there is good Reaſon to conclude, there is ſomething of the ſame Nature for the *Turky* Cloth at *Carcaſſonne*, the Silk and Worſted Stockings at *Niſmes*, the Clothing for the Soldiery at *Lodeve*, the Superfine Cloth at *Abbeville*, the Stuffs at *Amiens*, the Camblets at *Arras*, the painted Linens and Cottons at *Roüen*, &c.

VIII.

VIII. THE *French* labour under no ſmall Diſadvantage on Account of *the Expence they are at in the Article of Shipping.* — They have more Men to navigate their Ships than the *Engliſh*, becauſe they are not ſo *expert* Sailors. They muſt carry ſome *ſupernumerary* Landmen, by the King's Orders: They muſt have many Officers to govern theſe Men, becauſe the Merchant is to be *reſponſible* for them when the Ship returns. Theſe Officers will have a grand Table, a Cook, and new Bread *every* Day. The Ship lies long in Port, if ſent to the *Weſt-Indies* to diſpoſe of the Cargo: Becauſe their *Creolians* are ſaid to be ſo *diſhoneſt*, that they do not care to truſt them with Commiſſions. And ſo the Expences of the Officers and of the Crew run very high. Add to this, that the Officer belonging to the *Marine* in *France*, will find Ways and Means to give great Trouble to the Merchant, both as to the Choice of Sailors, and of Officers, unleſs he is *properly conſidered:* Which is generally done by buying ſome Ship Stores of himſelf, or Friends, at an *exorbitant* Price.

IX. THE two *National* Vices of the *French*, *Gaming* and *Fine Clothes*, is a great Hurt to their Trade. — Theſe Expences cannot be ſupported but by a *large Profit*; and *that* will always *leſſen* the Demand at a *foreign* Market, if their *Neighbours* can afford to ſell *cheaper*. Not to mention the *ſwift* Ruin which

which *Gaming* ſometimes brings on, and the Loſs of Time occaſioned by it.

X. THE *Situation* of the *French* Ports, are a great Diſadvantage to them, with reſpect to the *Hamburg* and *Northern* Trade: And in regard to the *Southern* and *Weſt-Indies*, they are not better ſituated; and are not near ſo *many*, nor ſo *good* as ours, eſpecially if we take *Ireland* into the Account. They have only an Advantage with reſpect to the *Mediterranean*.

XI. THE *Farming* of the Revenue is another great Diſadvantage to the Commerce of *France*. For theſe Farmers have moſt immoderate Profits, and live in all the Splendor and Expence of the firſt Princes of the Blood. And as they act by the King's Authority, they tyranniſe over the Subjects with Impunity.— Yet I cannot ſee how the *French* Government can be without ſuch a Set of People. For when Money is wanted, they are ready to lend, while the Subject is afraid: Therefore they borrow of the Subject, giving their own Securities, and then lend to the Government at an advanced Price, paying themſelves, as the Duties are collected.

TO theſe Diſadvantages, it has been intimated, I ought to have mentioned their *many Holidays*, on which they *muſt not work*, and their *pompous Proceſſions*, which draw the People a *gazing* after them. — The Thought did occur to me before, at the Time of writing the

the *firſt* Edition: But *I ſuppreſſed* it then, and now beg Leave to aſſign the Reaſons; *viz.* In the firſt Place, theſe Things are greatly *wearing off* in *France* every Day; ſo that the Loſs of Time is not ſo *conſiderable*, as one may imagine. Secondly, Allowing that *ſome* Time is *idled* away during theſe Holidays, and in ſeeing Proceſſions, *&c.* ſtill, if we caſt up the Account of the *Time* and *Money* which are ſpent here in *England* by *all* ſorts of *Manufacturers* in *Horſe-Races*, *Cock-fightings*, *Cricket-Matches*, *Bull-baitings*, but more eſpecially in *Mobbing* and *Electioneering*, (all which are not in *France)* I am perſwaded, we ſhall find the Advantage gained over them, on the Score of their Holidays and Proceſſions, to be none at all; and that upon comparing both Articles together, the Amount of the Diſadvantages will be found to be greater on our Side, than on theirs.

The principal ADVANTAGES *of* GREAT BRITAIN *with reſpect to* TRADE.

I. THE *natural Produce and Commodities of the Country*; Corn, Wool, Lead, Tin, Copper, Coal, Butter, Cheeſe, Tallow, Leather.—All which are not to be found in *France*, in that *Plenty* and *Abundance* they are in *England*.

II. *The Number, Goodneſs, and Situation of our Ports.*—Thoſe on the *Weſtern* Side of *Great Britain* (eſpecially if we reckon *Ireland* a *Part* of *ourſelves*, and include both Iſlands under ONE GENERAL INTEREST, as in *Reaſon* and *Policy* we ought to do) are almoſt as well *ſituated* for the *Southern* Trade, as the *French:* They are *four* times as many in Number, and much better for *Safety*, and *Depth* of *Water*. And as to the *North* and *Baltick* Trade, the *French* can come into no Compariſon with ours.

III. *Nature has been very bountiful, in beſtowing on us ſuch excellent Fiſheries*; particularly

larly the *Herring-Fiſhery*, on the *Northern* Coaſts of *Scotland*, and the *Cod* on the *South Weſt* of *Ireland*. —Theſe great Advantages are *always* in our Power to *cultivate* and *improve*; and it is our *Fault*, and our *Reproach*, that we *do not*.

IV. ENGLAND enjoys another Advantage by means of its *free Government*. —— A Merchant can go to Law with the *Crown*, as eaſily as with a *private* Subject. The *Judges* are for the *Life* of the *Prince* on the *Throne*, and conſequently *not under* the *immediate* Influence of the Court. No Man's Perſon can be detained, but a *Reaſon* muſt be given, and the Matter brought to an *open* Trial, where his *Equals* are to be his *Judges*, and to decide *between* him and the Crown, *whether* he hath committed an Offence againſt the *State*, or not.

V. ANOTHER *ineſtimable* Bleſſing, and a great Advantage, conſidered merely in a *Commercial* View, *is the Liberty of Conſcience we enjoy in theſe Kingdoms*. —— Every Man is permitted to worſhip GOD in the Way he thinks the *right* and *true*, without *Fear* or *Reſerve*; and may *educate* his Children in his *own Religion*. The *Roman Catholicks* indeed are under ſome *legal* Diſcouragements: But it is plain, the Legiſlature conſidered them rather as a *Political*, than a *Religious* Sect, when thoſe Laws were *enacted*. And the *preſent* Government, by its Conduct towards them, has given

them ſufficiently to underſtand, That they ſhall *not* be diſturbed in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, *provided they will give no Diſturbance to the State in Civil Affairs, by ſiding with its Enemies.* This, ſurely, is but a *reaſonable* Demand: And here the Matter ſeems to reſt.

VI. ENGLAND has always enjoy'd an Advantage in Trade, *as its Manufacturers have ever been in high Repute for their Skill and Ingenuity.*—Our Locks, Chains, Clock-work, Mathematical Inſtruments, and all Sorts of Cutlery Ware, far exceed all others at this Day, and are *deſervedly* preferred by *foreign* Nations. And our Sailors are conſiderably ſuperior to the *French*, in their Art and Dexterity.

VII. ENGLAND enjoys a very viſible Advantage over *France*, *as the whole Bulk of our People may be concerned in Trade, if they pleaſe, without any Diſreputation to their Families.*—The Profeſſion of a *Merchant* is eſteemed full as *honourable* as that of an *Officer.* And no Man need leave off Trade, when he finds himſelf rich, in order to be reſpected as a Gentleman. It is likewiſe *no Scandal* for younger Brothers of the moſt antient Families to be *bred* up to *Trade* and *Buſineſs.*

VIII. WE enjoy a ſingular Advantage *by our vaſt Colonies on the Continent of* America.—From *Newfoundland* to *Georgia*, is an immenſe Country; where all the Inhabitants do uſe

more

more or leſs of the Growth of their Mother Country; and *England* again receives the Produce and Growth of theirs. This is a mutual Benefit, and ſtill improveable.

IX. THE *Iſland of Jamaica* has ſome Advantages over any of the *French* Iſlands, on Account of its Situation, to carry on a beneficial Trade with the *Spaniſh* Main; the Sweets of which have been ſo ſufficiently felt during the late War, as to need no further Illuſtration. And this Iſland is capable of great Improvements in many other Reſpects.

X. THE very *Wants of Great Britain*, in *one* Reſpect, might be turned into a ſingular Advantage *over* the *French* in *another*. — It is certain, France *cannot carry on a Trade to moſt Countries with that Advantage to the Country it trades with, as the* Engliſh *can*. — For Example; The *Engliſh* can trade with the *Spaniards* to MUTUAL Advantage: If the *Engliſh* export Cloth and Stuffs to *Spain*, they can take off Fruits, Oil and Wine, by way of Barter. Whereas the *French* can make no uſe of theſe Commodities, having ſo much of their *own Growth* both to *uſe*, and to *ſpare*. — A Conſideration of this Nature, *well timed*, and *ſtrongly* urged, might have a good Effect upon the *Spaniſh* Court, to induce them to favour the *Engliſh* Commerce, and diſcountenance the *French*. It is owing to the *ſucceſsful* Application of Sir *Paul Methuen* on this very Head, when Envoy to the Court of

Portugal, that the *Engliſh* at this Day enjoy the whole Trade of *Portugal*, and that the *French*, in a Manner, are *excluded*.

XI. THE *low Intereſt* of Money, and the *eaſy* and *expeditious Transfers in the Funds*, give to *Great Britain* a manifeſt Advantage in the Affairs of Commerce. For were the Intereſt as high as in *France*, the Exportation of our Manufactures would be much dearer, as every Exporter would expect to get a Profit ſuperior to the Intereſt of Money; The ſure Conſequence of which would be, a Leſſening of the Quantity exported. — Beſides, the Merchants of *London*, by means of *Eaſt-India* Bonds, and the quick Transfers of Stocks, are enabled to make a Profit of their Money, when not employed in Trade; by which Means they can afford to buy and ſell for leſs Gains.

The principal DISADVANTAGES *of* GREAT BRITAIN *with regard to* TRADE.

I. THE firſt and CAPITAL Diſadvantage, is the *Want of Subordination in the lower Claſs of People*.—This is attended with *dreadful* Conſequences, both in a *Commercial* and

and a *Moral* View. If they are *ſubject* to little or no *Controll*, they will run into *Vice:* Vice is attended with *Expence*, which muſt be *ſupported* either by an *high Price* for their *Labour*, or by Methods *ſtill* more *deſtructive*. The *End* of all is *Poverty* and *Diſeaſe*; and ſo they become a *loathſome Burden* to the *Publick*. *Nothing is more viſible, than the great Difference between the Morals and Induſtry of the manufacturing Poor in* France, *and in* England. In the former, they are *ſober, frugal*, and *laborious:* They *marry*, and have *Flocks* of *Children*, whom they bring up to *Labour*. In the latter, they are given up to *Drunkenneſs* and *Debauchery:* The Streets ſwarm with *Proſtitutes*, who ſpread the *Infection*, till they are carried to an *Hoſpital*, or their *Grave*. The *Men* are as bad as can be deſcribed; who become more *vitious*, more *indigent* and *idle*, in Proportion to the *Advance* of *Wages*, and the *Cheapneſs* of *Proviſions:* Great Numbers of both Sexes never working at all, while they have any thing to ſpend upon their Vices.

II. THE *prodigious Expence of Electioneering, is another fatal Stab to Trade and Induſtry.* — It is not only ſo much Money *ſpent*, but it is ſpent moſtly upon *Manufacturers*; and ſo it gives them a *Taſte* for *Idleneſs*, and brings on an *Habit* of *Drunkenneſs*, and *Extravagance*. The *Want* alſo of *Subordination*, juſt now complained of, is moſtly to be *im-*

puted to the ſame Cauſe, as it ſets them *above* Controll, *frees* them from all *Reſtraint*, and brings down the *Rich* to pay their *Court* to *them*, contrary to the *juſt* and *proper* Order of Society.

III. ANOTHER *very great Burden* on the *Engliſh* Commerce, *is the vaſt Numbers of Poor*; *and thoſe every Day increaſing*. — If we trace the Matter to its *Fountain-head*, we ſhall find it to be owing principally to the ſame Cauſes, viz. *Electioneering*, and the *Want* of *Subordination*. And if a *Calculation* was made of the *Expences* of *Electioneering*, and the *ruinous* Conſequences of it, together with the *annual* Poor Tax, I am very ſure it would exceed, in the Proportion, what *France* expends in maintaining Three Hundred Thouſand *Religious* of both Sexes: So that we gain *no* Advantage over *France* in this Reſpect, through our own *Diſſoluteneſs* and *ill Management*.

IV. Our Trade is greatly burthened by the *Nature* of *moſt of our Taxes*, *and the Manner of Collecting them*. —— The *Cuſtoms* on the Goods *imported*, make thoſe Goods come much *dearer* to the *Conſumer*, than they would do, if the Conſumer *himſelf* was to pay the *Duty*: And this becomes a ſtrong *Temptation* to our People to *Smuggle*. The Taxes upon the *Neceſſaries* of *Life*, are in Fact ſo many *Taxes* upon *Trade* and *Induſtry*: And ſuch muſt be accounted the Duties upon *Soap*, *Coal*, *Candles*, *Salt* and *Leather*. Likewiſe the Duties upon the Importation of Foreign *raw* Materials, to be

be employed in our own Manufactures, are ſo many Fetters and Chains to prevent the Progreſs of Labour, and Circulation of Wealth. Theſe Impoſts were firſt laid on, under a Notion of promoting the *Landed Intereſt*; but happy would it have been for theſe Kingdoms, if the *Landed* Gentlemen had *underſtood* their Intereſt, before they attempted to ſhew their Zeal in promoting it.

MOREOVER, the expenſive Manner of collecting all our Cuſtoms, is ſtill an *additional* Diſadvantage; ſuch as the *Multiplication* and *Splitting* of *Offices*, *Patent-Places*, *Fees*, *Sine-Cures*, *Penſions*, &c. &c. Theſe Things indeed create a Dependance upon the Court, and are ſaid to ſtrengthen the Hands of the Government; but if they do ſo in *one* Reſpect, they *weaken* it much more in *another*. They give too *juſt* Cauſe for *Complaint*; the *beſt* Friends of the preſent Eſtabliſhment are *grieved* to ſee *any* Meaſures which they *cannot vindicate*. *Repeated* Murmurs, where there is a *real* Foundation for them, naturally tend to *alienate* the *Affections* of the Bulk of the *People*, which *above all* Things ſhould be *guarded* againſt; becauſe in Times of *actual* Danger, it is the *People*, and not *Place-Men* and *Penſioners*, who can *ſave* the Government, and *oppoſe* themſelves againſt the *Invaſions* of *Foreign*, or the *Inſurrections* of *Domeſtick* Enemies: As was *plainly* ſeen in the Caſe of the *late Rebellion*.

V. THE *great Number of Smugglers in* England, *are of infinite Detriment to Trade.*— They carry nothing but *Bullion*, or *Wool* out of the Kingdom, and return moſtly with the *Commodities* of *France*. They are the *neceſſary* Cauſe of creating many Offices, maintaining Sloops, Smacks, *&c.* to guard againſt them; and they furniſh a *Pretence* for adding many more. Thus they become *doubly* Miſchievous. They *tempt* others to do the *like*, for fear of being *ruined* in their lawful Trades by being *underſold*. The Practice of Smuggling debauches the *Morals* of the common People, it *leads* them into *Perjury*, and *tutors* them up in all Vice and Extravagance. So many *Expences* incurred, ſo many *Deficiencies* in the *Revenue*, muſt be made up ſome other Way; that is, by Duties not ſo liable to be *embezzled*. And therefore Fact it is, That every Man in paying Taxes for *Land*, &c. pays for the Damage *done*, or *cauſed* by *Smuggling*. And yet *till* there is a proper Subordination introduced, and the *Qualification* for *Voting* ſomething altered from what it is at *preſent*, it is eaſy to ſee, there never can be any *effectual* Cure for this *growing* Evil. Smugglers are, for the moſt part, Inhabitants of *Boroughs* and *Towns Corporate:* They, or their Relations, Friends, Dealers, Acquaintance, *&c.* are VOTERS, And——*Verbum ſat ſapienti.*

VI. OUR *Monopolies, publick Companies, and Corporate Charters, are the Bane and Deſtruction*

tion of a free Trade. — By the Charter of the *East-India* Company, at least *Nine Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety Nine British* Subjects, out of *Ten Thousand, without having committed any Fault to deserve such a Punishment*, are *excluded* from trading any where *beyond* the Cape of *Good Hope*. By the Charter of the *Turky Company* a *like*, or a *greater* Number, are *excluded* from having any Commerce with the whole *Turkish* Empire. The *Hudson*'s Bay Company *engrosses* all the Furr Trade with the *Indians*, in an Extent of Country almost as *large* as half *Europe*. Thus the Interest of Nine Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety Nine Fellow-Subjects, is *sacrificed*, in so many Respects, for the Sake of a single *One*. The *whole* Nation suffers in its Commerce, and is debarred trading to more than *three Fourths* of the Globe, to enrich a few *rapacious* Directors. *They* get *wealthy* the very same Way by which the *Publick* becomes *poor*, *viz.* *First*, By exporting *small Quantities* of our *own Manufactures*, in order to have an *exorbitant Profit*; and 2*dly*, by importing but a few of the *raw Materials* of *foreign* Countries, that they may have the *higher Price* for what they bring home.——A double Mischief! equally fatal to the Community, both by the Smallness of their *Exports* and *Imports*.

AND as to *corporate* Charters, and *Companies* of Trades, they are likewise so many *Monopolies* in the *Places* to which they *belong*, to the

the great Detriment of *National* Commerce.—To convince any one of this, Let him but ſuppoſe a Set of *Town* and *Country* Butchers frequenting the ſame Market; and that the Country Butchers were *excluded* for a Market or two; would not the Town Butchers raiſe their Price? *i. e.* put all their fellow Citizens under *Contribution*, by means of this *Privilege?* And doth not every *other* Company the ſame in all Things they ſell? And what is the Conſequence?——A general Dearneſs among one another, which muſt light at *laſt* upon the *Foreign* Trade, and therefore *diminiſh* the *Quantity* to be *exported.*

VII. OUR *Imprudence and Narrow-ſpiritedneſs in not inviting Foreigners to ſettle among Us*, is another *material* Diſadvantage to the *Engliſh* Trade. — Foreigners can never get rich in a ſtrange Country, but by working *cheaper* or *better* than the *Natives.* And if they do ſo, though *Individuals* may *ſuffer*, the *Publick* is certainly a *Gainer*; as there is ſo much Merchandize to be exported upon *cheaper* Terms, or ſo much *ſaved* to the Merchant, whereby he may *afford* to export the cheaper. Not to mention, That by this means the Price of Labour is continually *beat down*, *Combinations* of *Journeymen* againſt their *Maſters* are prevented, *Induſtry* is encouraged, and an *Emulation* excited. All which are greatly for the *Publick* Good.

BESIDES,

BESIDES, a Foreigner juſt eſcaped from *Slavery* and *Oppreſſion*, when he gets rich in a Land of *Liberty* and *Plenty*, is not likely to return home, but will ſettle among Us, and become one of ourſelves, with his whole Family. And what are ALL *Engliſhmen* but the *Deſcendants* of *Foreigners?* In ſhort, it is the ſame weak Policy to prevent Foreigners ſettleing among us, as it is in the Poor about *London*, to oppoſe the *Welſh* and *Iriſh* coming up to work in the *Gardens*, and carry in the *Harveſt*; not conſidering, that if the Gardener or Farmer cannot have his Work done cheap, he *cannot afford* to ſell the Garden-Stuff, Bread, *&c.* cheap to them. So that they themſelves find their Account in the Cheapneſs of the Labour of theſe Perſons. Indeed the *Engliſh* ſhould give MORE Encouragement, if poſſible, to Strangers than *France* doth; as for many other Reaſons, ſo particularly for this, That the *Flemiſh*, *Germans*, *Swiſs*, *Piedmontiſe*, *Italians*, &c. can arrive at moſt of the Manufacturing Towns in *France* at a *trifling* Expence; whereas the *long* Journey from their own Country, and the *Paſſage* over into *England*, are a very great Diſcouragement to Foreign Manufacturers to come to ſettle here.

VIII. OUR *ill judged Policy, and unnatural Jealouſy in cramping the Commerce and Manufactures of* IRELAND, is another very great Bar againſt extending our Trade.—This is a moſt unaccountable *Infatuation*, which has not

not the *Shadow* of a *publick* and *national* Reaſon to defend it. For if *Ireland* gets rich, what is the Conſequence? *England* will be *rich too*, and *France* will be the *poorer*. The Wool which is now Smuggled from * *Ireland* into *France*, and manufactured there, and *from thence* ſent to *oppoſe* our own Commodities at *foreign* Markets, would be manufactured in *Ireland*; the *French* would *loſe* the Benefit of it, the *Iriſh* would *get* it:—The Rents of the Eſtates in *Ireland* would riſe; and then the Money would ſoon find its way into *England*. Beſides, the *Iriſh* might be *incorporated* into the *Engliſh* Parliament, and make *one Nation* with ourſelves, bearing an equal Share of Taxes, and ſo eaſing *England*, at the ſame Time that *Ireland* is enriched.—But more of this hereafter.

IX. WANT *of a leſs expenſive Way of Repairing our Roads*; *Want of more Navigable Rivers and Canals*; are a very great Diſadvantage to *England*, in Compariſon of *France*.—Every one muſt be ſenſible of the heavy Tax,

* A Clergyman, whoſe Living is in the *Weſt* of *Ireland*, aſſured me, That juſt after the Peace, the *Wool Smugglers* of his Pariſh, got upwards of 50 *per Cent.* by the Wool they ſold to the *French*. — As long as this is the Caſe, *Laws* and *Reſtrictions* will ſignify *nothing*. If we have a Mind to *prevent* the *Iriſh* ſending their Wool to *France*, we muſt make it their INTEREST to keep it *at home*; which can never be done, but by *permitting* them to *manufacture* it *themſelves*, and *export* it to *any* Market *they can*.

which

which ſo many Turnpikes lay upon Trade; and how bad even the Turnpike Roads are in many Parts of the Country, diſtant from *London*. We have no Canals to open a Communication between City and City, River and River, though *our* Country is much better adapted for them than *France*.

X. WE labour under a very great Diſadvantage, *as moſt of our Leeward Iſlands are now worn out*, and indeed were *never* ſo fertile, or of ſo *laſting* a Soil as the *French*; therefore they require a *greater* Expence to cultivate them: So that our Sugars muſt come the dearer to *Europe*. Beſides, as we uſe ſo much for Home Conſumption, we have the Leſs to ſpare for foreign Markets. But the greateſt Misfortune is, That the Planters in theſe ſmall Iſlands are ſuffered to monopolize as much Land as they pleaſe; by which Means the Plantations are engroſſed in a few Hands, and the Number of Whites is daily decreaſing; ſo that the Sugar Colonies now conſume much leſs of the Produce of the Mother Country; and yet in Time of Danger, *England* is obliged to be at the Expence of a greater Force to protect them, as they are leſs able to defend themſelves.

XI. ENGLAND labours under a peculiar Diſadvantage in Compariſon to *France*, *as its Colonies are not ſo much under the Command of their Mother Country, nor ſo ſtudious of her Welfare.* — In many of theſe Colonies *ſeveral* Manu-

Manufactures are ſet up, and *more* intended to be erected, which will greatly *interfere* with the Trade of *England*. And we muſt expect that this Evil will not *decreaſe*, but *increaſe* by Time, unleſs an effectual Method can ſpeedily be put in Practice, to *divert* the Thoughts of our *American* Colonies *from* theſe Purſuits, *to* ſome others, equally *ſerviceable* to *them*, and leſs *detrimental* to *us*. Beſides, they not only ſet up Manufactures of their own in Oppoſition to ours, but they purchaſe thoſe Luxuries and Refinements of Living from *Foreigners*, which *we* could *furniſh* them with. It is computed, that they are ſupplied with at leaſt *one third* of theſe Articles from foreign Nations; amongſt whom the *French* come in for the *greateſt* Share.

XII. WE alſo ſuffer a further Inconvenience *in not inviting Foreigners to travel into* England, and ſpend their Money among Us; and in *being too fond of travelling ourſelves*.—It is certain, *England* has as many Curioſities for a Foreigner to obſerve, as any Country in the World: The whole Iſland, and every thing belonging to it, being in many Reſpects *different* from the *Continent*, and worthy the Attention of a Stranger. And even as to fine *Paintings*, original *Statues*, and *Antiques*, we have *prodigious* Collections of them in private Hands, though little known even to our own Countrymen, for want of a *publick* and *general* Catalogue. Moreover, our *Engliſh* Travellers

vellers in *France* and *Italy*, are continually making new Collections in order to carry home, and embelliſh their own Country. And yet our Gentry are ſo *ſhy* to Strangers, the Servants expect ſo much *Vails*, and the common People are ſo *rude* and *affronting*, that very few care to travel in ſuch a Country.

XIII. THE *high Price of Labour is another inſuperable Bar to a large Trade.* — The Cauſes of which are ſuch as have been aſſigned already, viz. *Electioneering*—the *corrupt Morals* of the *People* — *Taxes* on the *Neceſſaries* of Life—*Monopolies*, publick *Companies*, and corporate *Charters* of *Trades*.

XIV. WE ſuffer a very great Detriment through the *Want* of *Publick Inſpectors*, to ſee that our Manufacturers produce every Thing *good* in its *Kind*; that they give good *Weight* and *Meaſure*, and fold the *worſe Side outermoſt*. And what is ſtill worſe, where ſuch have been appointed, they have degenerated, through ſome unhappy Abuſe, ſo far as to *increaſe* the Evil they were intended to *correct*.

XV. ADD to all theſe, the *Diſcouragements* and *Oppoſitions* which the moſt *generous* Scheme will too often meet with from *ſelf-intereſted* and *deſigning* Men, who *pervert* the invaluable Bleſſing of *Liberty* and a *free Conſtitution* to ſome of the *worſt* of *Purpoſes*. In a *deſpotick* Kingdom, the Miniſtry have none to *oppoſe* them in their *good Deſigns:* But among us, let their Plan be ever ſo well calculated for the *Publick Good*, yet if it claſhes with

with the *private* Intereſt of any *particular* Perſons, trading *Companies*, or *Boroughs*, (as it neceſſarily *muſt do)* then it is oppoſed, under various Pretences, by the united Force of *falſe Patriots*, who *inflame* the *Populace* with *Words* and *Names*, and *blacken* and *miſrepreſent* the *beſt* Deſigns in the moſt *malevolent* manner.

BESIDES, in an abſolute Government, there is no Poſſibility of gaining Preferment by making one's ſelf formidable to the Miniſtry. Whereas in *England*, it is the *ſure Road* to it. A bold plauſible Speaker in the Houſe embaraſſes the Schemes of the Miniſtry, not becauſe he thinks them *wrong*, but becauſe he expects to be BOUGHT OFF by a *Place*, or a *Penſion*. A News-Writer, or a Pamphleteer, puts every Meaſure of the Court in the moſt *odious* Light, in order to make his Paper *ſell* the *better*, or to be thought conſiderable enough to be *retained* on their *Side*.

ON the other hand, the Miniſtry are too apt to endeavour to *quaſh* a Motion, *not* becauſe it was a *bad* one, but becauſe it came from the *Party* in the *Oppoſition*. A good Motion, a publick-ſpirited and generous Propoſal, would raiſe the *Credit* of the *Authors* of them too high with the *People*, were they carried into *Execution*, to the *Detriment* of the *Miniſtry*. Therefore *ſalus* SUI, not *ſalus* POPULI, *ſuprema Lex eſto*.

THUS

THUS it is on *both* Sides: And an honeſt well-meaning Perſon, whoſe Views are *ſingle*, and who is conſcious to himſelf of no *other* Attachment but the *Good* of his *Country*, cannot but *lament* theſe *pernicious* Evils. — And the more ſo, as he muſt *deſpair* of ſeeing them effectually *removed* or *cured*, without introducing *worſe Evils* in their ſtead, — unleſs Men were much *honeſter*, and more *upright* than they are; which, it is to be feared, is not likely to be *ſoon* the *Caſe*.

CERTAIN

PROPOSALS

For remedying many of the above-mentioned INCONVENIENCIES; *and encreasing the* TRADE *and* CREDIT *of* GREAT BRITAIN.

I. PROPOSAL.

TO *alter the Qualification of Voting, and to introduce a just Subordination among the People.*—— When * *Forty Shillings* a Year was fixed upon as a *Standard* for a Voting Freeholder, it was certainly more than an Equivalent to *Twenty Pounds per Ann.* of

* The very Recital of the Statute, which ascertained the Qualification of Voting Freeholders, is the best Proof of the Reasonableness and Necessity of what is here proposed.

" *Anno*

of *modern* Rent. Suppoſe, now, that *Twenty Pounds per Ann.* was the requiſite Sum for a Freeholder and *Two Hundred Pounds* Stock in

" *Anno octavo* HENRICI VI. cap. 7.

What Sorts of Men ſhall be Chooſers, and who ſhall be choſen Knights of the Parliament.

' WHEREAS the Elections of Knights of Shires, to ' come to the Parliament of our Lord the King, in ma- ' ny Countries of the Realme of *England*, have *now of ' late* been made by *very great outrageous and exceſſive Num- ' ber* of People, dwelling within the ſame Counties of ' the Realme of *England*, of the which moſt Part was ' of People of *ſmall Subſtance, and of no Value*, whereof ' every of them pretended a Voice equivalent as to ſuch ' Elections to be made, with the moſt worthy Knights ' and Eſquires dwelling within the ſaid Counties; where- ' by *Manſlaughter, Riots, Batteries, and Diviſions* among ' the Gentlemen and other People of the ſame Counties ' ſhall very likely riſe and be, unleſſe convenient and due ' Remedy be provided in this Behalf: Our Lord the ' King conſidering the Premiſes, hath provided, ordain- ' ed and eſtabliſhed, by Authority of this preſent Parlia- ' ment, that the Knights of the Shires to be choſen with- ' in the ſame Realme of *England*, to come to the Par- ' liaments of our Lord the King, hereafter to be holden, ' ſhall be choſen in every County of the Realme of *Eng- ' land*, by People dwelling and reſident in the ſame Coun- ' ties, whereof every one of them ſhall have Land or ' Tenement, to the Value of *Forty Shillings by the Year ' at leaſt, above all Charges*; and that they which ſhall ' be ſo choſen, ſhall be dwelling and reſident within the ' ſame Counties. . . . . Provided always, That he ' which cannot expend *Forty Shillings by the Year as afore ' is ſaid*, ſhall in *no wiſe be Chooſer* of the Knights for ' the Parliament.'

HERE we find the ſame Cauſe tending to produce the ſame Effect in former Times, as in the preſent. Only there is this Difference, that the Evil could not be near

in Trade for a Tradeſman, to *qualify* them to vote; the immediate Conſequence would neceſſarily be, that the Manufacturing Part of our Nation would not be called from their Work, to run *roving* after every Electioneering: A proper *Subordination* would be effectually introduced: The Laws againſt Idleneſs and Debauchery might be *executed*; and Smuggling in a great meaſure *ſuppreſſed:* And all this without running the *Riſk* of *diſobliging* ſuch Voters, and *loſing* their Votes. Moreover, when Things were put upon ſuch a Footing, it would be a Matter of *Honour* and Reputation to have a Vote; and conſequently, the Voter would pique himſelf more upon his *Integrity* and *Uncorruptneſs*, than he now doth. He would be above that *Bribery* and *Corruption*, which appear ſo openly and avowedly *on all Sides*, at preſent, throughout the Kingdom. Likewiſe a Spirit of *Emulation* and *Induſtry* would be excited; and the *Privilege* of Voting would become a laudable Inducement to every *Artificer*,

ſo great then, as now; becauſe the common People were uſed to much greater Subordination, and the Trade of the Kingdom was very inconſiderable, conſequently could not have ſuffered by it in any Degree to what it doth at preſent. And yet, if ſuch were the Reaſons which induced the Legiſlature to paſs the above-recited Act at that Time, how much more Reaſon have we to follow their Example now?—The preſent Value of *Forty Shillings*, is not a tenth Part of what they intended: Therefore, if we would keep up to the *Spirit* and *Meaning* of this Law, we ſhould at leaſt fix the Qualification at *Twenty Pounds per Annum*.

Artificer, (not to get *Drunk*, or to take a paltry *Bribe*, as at preſent is the Caſe) but to be *frugal* and *ſaving*, in order to raiſe himſelf to the Degree of a *Voter*. And many Artificers might accompliſh this by a *few Years* Induſtry after they are ſet up. The Number alſo of the Poor would conſequently be *leſſened*; the Price of Labour *reduced*; and the Perſons themſelves, who would be debarred of Voting by ſuch a ſuppoſed Bill, much *happier*, much *richer*, and *quieter* than they now are. Add to this, That a *Militia* for Land Service, and a *Regiſter* for the Sea Service, might then be introduced, if it was judged expedient; whereas at preſent it is *impracticable*; becauſe ſuch a Power, wherever lodged, would infallibly be applied to the bad Purpoſes of *influencing* Votes at the Time of Elections.

II. PROPOSAL.

To erect certain Courts in all manufacturing Places of the Kingdom, where the chief Dealers themſelves ſhall petition for them, with the Title of *GUARDIANS of the *Morals of the*

* The Complaints againſt the Morals of the manufacturing Poor become louder every Day, and certainly demand, if any Thing doth, the *ſerious* Attention of the *Legiſlature*. *Combinations* of Journeymen to extort *exorbitant* Wages. — This Money ſpent in *Drunkenneſs* and *Debauchery*, ſo that they are the *Poorer* rather than the *Richer* at the *Week*'s End, by the *advanced* Price,—

the manufacturing Poor. Perhaps ſomething to the following Effect, might ſuggeſt *Hints* to be *improved* upon.

THE

their *Unfaithfulneſs* to their *Truſt*—the *Badneſs* of their Work, whenever their Maſters have a great *Demand*, and dare not *turn* them *off*,— the *increaſing* Number of the Poor; theſe, and many other Articles of the like Nature, are the Complaints *juſtly* made on this Head.

A certain very *ingenious* Gentleman, and himſelf a *great* Manufacturer in the Clothing Way, has attended to them with great Aſſiduity; and is engaged in a Scheme which he intends to exhibit to the Publick, of a *very ſingular* Nature, for the Reformation of theſe Abuſes. He has carefully obſerved, That in *exceeding dear* Years, when Corn and Proviſions are at an *extravagant* Price, then the Work is *beſt* and *cheapeſt* done:— but that in *cheap* Years, the Manufacturers are *idle*, Wages *high*, and Work *ill done*. He has carried theſe Obſervations through many Years back; and confirmed them by the Teſtimony of ſeveral great Writers upon Trade.

THEREFORE he infers, That the high Duties, Taxes, and Exciſes upon the Neceſſaries of Life, are *ſo far* from being a *Diſadvantage* to Trade, as things are circumſtanced among Us, that they are *eventually* the chief Support of it:—and ought to be *higher ſtill*, in order to oblige the Poor either to WORK or STARVE.

SOME Things may certainly be ſaid in favour of this Scheme. But an humane and compaſſionate Man cannot but be *ſorry*, to ſee the Morals of the Poor ſo *very corrupt*, as to oblige any one to think of *ſuch* an *Expedient*. In the mean Time, as much may be ſaid againſt it; and as it would involve the *Innocent* as well as the *Guilty* in the ſame Puniſhment; perhaps ſome *other* Expedients would better anſwer the good End propoſed, and not be liable to the ſame Objections. If the Qualification for Voting was ſettled as in the *firſt* Propoſal, and Court Guardians erected, as propoſed in this; and Foreign Manufacturers naturalized, in order to keep down

the

THE *Qualifications* of each Member of this Court to be as follows; 1*ſt*, That he employs not leſs than twenty Manufacturers on his *own Account*, the greater Part of the Year? By this Regulation, the moſt *eminent*, as well as the moſt *concerned*, will be the only Perſons admitted. 2*dly*, That each Member ſubſcribes a certain Sum, ſuppoſe two Guineas at leaſt, every Year, towards the good Purpoſes hereafter to be mentioned; but that they be admitted to receive the Legacies and Donations of others. 3*dly*, That each Member be a *married* Man, in order to ſet the good Example here recommended.

THE Aim of this Court to be to *diſcourage* Vice, Idleneſs and Debauchery,—and to *encourage* Induſtry, Probity and Fidelity, in the lower Claſs of People.

THE Means to effectuate theſe good Deſigns, with great Submiſſion, perhaps may be as follows;

1*ſt*, BY *removing all Temptation*, as much as poſſible, out of the Way; to which End, this Court Guardian ſhall have the *ſole Power*

the Price of Labour, and prevent any Combinations among our own People, (as ſhall be mentioned in a ſucceeding Propoſal) perhaps the Morals of our Poor would be as unexceptionable, and the Price of Labour as cheap as in any other trading Country.

BUT which ever Scheme is right, or if neither are, the Affair itſelf deſerves the moſt ſerious Regard of every one, who wiſhes well both to the *Souls* and *Bodies* of his Fellow Creatures, and the *Good* of his *Country*.

of *judging*, How *many Ale-houſes*, &c. are neceſſary to be *licenſed* in their reſpective Diſtricts: that is, They ſhall *not* have a Power to *exceed* the Number allowed by the Juſtices, but to *leſſen* them as much as they *pleaſe*. Neither ſhall they have the Power to *nominate* the Perſons to be *licenſed*; but after they have delivered in their Liſts, the Juſtices ſhall nominate, —unleſs the Juſtices delay to do it for a Month after Delivery: in ſuch Caſe, they ſhall be impowered to nominate themſelves. They ſhall likewiſe have the Power of levying a *certain* Fine by Diſtreſs of Goods, or in Default of that ſhall inflict corporal Puniſhment, on all Perſons who keep *Cock-Pits*, *Skittle-Allies*, and all ſuch Places for the Reſort of the common People, within their Diſtrict, alſo thoſe who ſet up *Stages* for *Cudgel-Playing*, &c. or *Booths* for *Horſe-Races*, or bring Liquors, Cakes, Fruit, or any like Temptations, to draw People together. They ſhall alſo be impowered to *expel* out of their Diſtrict, all ſuch common People as cannot give a good Account of themſelves by what means they ſubſiſt; and ſhall particularly be enabled to remove ſuch *Women*, as are *ſuſpected* to have a *bad Character*, unleſs they can clear themſelves from the Imputation, by the Oaths of three, at leaſt, of their Neighbours of good *Subſtance* and *Repute*, That they believe them to be *innocent* of the Charge, and eſteem them to be *honeſt*, *chaſte*, and *ſober* Perſons.

2*dly*,

2*dly*, THESE Court Guardians ſhall endeavour to *encourage* Induſtry, Probity, and practical Religion, by the following Methods; *viz.* By allowing Forty Shillings apiece to any young Couple going to be married, that can make it appear by the Teſtimony of their Maſters, that they have *ſaved* Three Pounds and upwards, by *working* in their Service; and have *behaved well.* If *each* of theſe can produce ſuch a Character, then this Forty Shillings to be made Four Pounds. But not to be paid till a Year and a Day after Marriage, during which time they are ſtill to behave well.—By allowing alſo ſomething *diſcretionally* to thoſe, who are over-burdened with large Families, or are Sick, whoſe Characters are known to be good: — By preſenting alſo a few good Books, to the *remarkably* diligent and induſtrious. Suppoſe theſe were the *Bible*, and *Gaſtrel*'s *Chriſtian Inſtitutes*; which are Books that no Perſons of ever ſo different Religious Perſwaſions can object to. If theſe were neatly Bound, gilt on the Back and Leaves, with a Cloth Caſe, and had ſtampt on one Side in Gold Letters,

THE HAND OF THE DILIGENT MAKETH RICH;
And on the Other,
TO THE PRAISE OF THEM THAT DO WELL;

they would be kept as *Family Pieces*, and *Trophies*; and might *excite* the ſame laudable *Emulation* in their *Poſterity*, which it had done in *themſelves*.

N. B.

N. B. The Diſtrict here ſo often mentioned, is ſuppoſed to be *ten Miles* round from the Town or Place appointed for keeping this Court. The Court to ſit every Month, at leaſt, for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs, wherein the Attendance of *three* Members will be ſufficient: and every Quarter a general Meeting, which muſt be compoſed of ſeven.

THESE are only offered, with great Submiſſion, to the Publick, as *Hints* to be improved upon. The *Importance* of the Affair requires that *ſome* Expedients ſhould be *tried* without *Delay*. If theſe are judged improper, the Author would exceedingly rejoice to ſee better in their Room; and thoſe effectually carried into Execution.

III. PROPOSAL.

TO *incorporate both the* Britiſh *Iſles together, and to make* ONE KINGDOM *in all Reſpects, as to Parliament, Trade and Taxes.*

THIS Propoſal of *Incorporation* has long been the Wiſh of every generous *diſintereſted Patriot* of both Kingdoms. And indeed, inexpreſſibly great would be the Benefit on *both Sides*. The *Iriſh* would ſhare in the Advantage of *our Trade*, and *we* in *theirs*. By permitting them to *get rich* at the *Expence* of the *French*, they would be *enabled* to *eaſe* Us of the *Burden* of the *worſt* and heavieſt of our *Taxes*:—whereas at preſent, the *French*, thro' our own *unaccountable* Infatuation, *get rich* at *their Expence*. By this *mutual* Benefit, neither

ther Kingdom would be looked upon as *Foreign* to the other: but the Goods of both would be imported *Duty-free*, or perhaps be considered only as coming *Coaſt-wiſe*. The *hoſtile* Prohibition againſt *wearing*, or *uſing* the Produce of either Kingdom, would be *repealed*; and all that *unnatural War* between the Commerce of the two Nations, would be *at an End*:—which would be attended with theſe further happy Conſequences, That many of the *Neceſſaries* of Life would be imported *cheaper* into *England*, than they now can be purchaſed; a great *Advantage* this to the *Merchant* and *Manufacturer*:—and many more of the *Luxuries*, *Ornaments*, and *Delicacies* of Living, would be *exported* from hence into *Ireland*. For moſt certain it is, That in Proportion as *Ireland* grew *rich*, they would take the *Lead* for the *richeſt* of their *Cloaths*, *Furniture*, *Plate*, *Jewels*, *Equipages*, &c. &c. from *England*. Likewiſe the Inducements of being near the *Parliament*, the *Court*, the *Publick Funds*, &c. would bring many more *Iriſh* Families to *reſide*, and *ſpend* their Fortunes here, than now do. In ſhort, whatever Wealth *Ireland* would draw from other Countries by its Produce, Manufactures, and happy Situation; all that would continually *center* in *England*.

BUT here, methinks, I hear SELF-INTEREST making an Outcry, "*They would* run away *with our Trade*." But pray let me calmly aſk, *Who* would run away with it? or *where* would they

they run to? Why truly our *own People*, our *own Countrymen*, (who may as juſtly be *called* ſo, as the Inhabitants of any *neighbouring* County,—and are ſome of the *beſt*, and moſt *faithful* Subjects the Government has) would perhaps carry *ſome part* of a Manufacture *from* Us *to* themſelves.—But what *Detriment* would this be to the Publick? The People of *Yorkſhire* have done the very ſame Thing by *Gloceſterſhire* and *Wiltſhire*. Let us therefore have a Meeting of the Clothiers of theſe two Counties to petition the Parliament, That the *Yorkſhire Looms and Mills* may be all *broke* and *deſtroyed: For they have run away with our Trade.* —— This is ſo *ridiculous* and *abſurd* a Propoſal, that I believe there is no Perſon living, but muſt *ſee* and feel it to *be ſo*. And yet let me aſk, Is not this the *very Caſe* with reſpect to the Objection againſt incorporating with *Ireland?* Or if there be a *Difference* between the two Caſes, I ſhould be glad to know *wherein* it conſiſts? Is *Ireland* to be looked upon as a diſtinct Kingdom? — more is the Pity: For as the two Kingdoms have but one *common Head*, — one *common Intereſt* both in *Church* and *State*, — the *ſame* Friends, — and the *ſame* Enemies; they ought to have been long ſince *conſolidated* together.——But allowing it to be *called* a diſtinct Kingdom at preſent, *till* it is *united:*—ſo is *Yorkſhire* a *diſtinct* County, and was formerly, in the Times of the Heptarchy, a *Kingdom* likewiſe *diſtinct* from the two Counties above mentioned. Is

Ireland

Ireland a great Way *diſtant* from *England?* — *Yorkſhire* is at a greater Diſtance ſtill from the Counties above mentioned. And the *Communication* between them is not *ſo eaſy* by *Land*, for the *Purpoſes* of *Commerce*, as the *other* is by *Sea*.

" BUT Ireland *is more advantageouſly ſitu-*
" *ated for the Trade to the* Weſt-Indies;
" *Therefore—*" Therefore we muſt deny our *own People* the *Benefit* of *Trading*, BECAUSE they are *advantageouſly* ſituated for *carrying it on*. This is a *weighty Argument*; *Briſtol*, for Inſtance, is *better ſituated* for the *Iriſh* Trade than *London*; therefore let US *Londoners* petition, that the Port of *Briſtol may be locked up*.

IT would be an endleſs, and a tedious Piece of Work, to wade through ſuch *groſs* and *palpable* Abſurdities. One Thing is plain and obvious, that *Self-Intereſt*, the *Bane* of all Publick Good, is *driven* to *hard Shifts*, in order to *cover* ſuch *Views* as ſhe dare not *openly avow*. If *England* itſelf was divided into *two* Kingdoms, one comprehending all the South, the other all the North Side of the *Thames*, and there were *hoſtile* Prohibitions againſt *importing* certain Sorts of Goods from *London* to *Southwark*, and *vice verſa*, and *high Duties* upon all the Reſt: Many Individuals on both Sides, would find their own *private Intereſt* in upholding the Diviſion, and would cry out, upon any Propoſal being made for an *Union*—*Theſe Foreigners will run away with our Trade*—*They are better ſituated than*

Us

Us — *Our Trade is in Danger.* But would this Cry weigh with upright Men on both Sides, who had the Welfare of the Community *truly at Heart?*—If it *would not*, what ſhall we think of the *ſame Argument*, when urged *againſt Great Britain*'s incorporating with *Ireland.*

IV. PROPOSAL.

AFTER ſuch an Union of the two Kingdoms, as above propoſed, *To lay by Degrees the* Engliſh *Taxes upon* Ireland; *and to eaſe the* Engliſh *of the moſt burdenſome of theirs in the ſame gradual manner.* — Suppoſe, therefore, the firſt Year, that the *Engliſh* Laws of *Exciſe*, and the Duties upon *French Wines and Brandies*, are extended to *Ireland*; then *England* might be *eaſed* of the *Salt Tax*, the *ſame* Year, or the *following* one. If in the ſecond Year *Ireland* were charged with the *Stamp* and *Paper Duties*, *England* might be *diſcharged* of the Tax upon *Soap* and *Candles.* If in the third, a Tax was laid upon the *Window-Lights* in *Ireland*, the *Coal Duties* might be *taken off* from *England.* If in the fourth, the Tax was laid upon *Coaches*, this would enable the Parliament to *diſcontinue* the Duty upon *Leather.* Laſtly, If in the fifth Year, *Ireland* was ſubjected to a *Land-Tax*, this would eaſe the *Lands* and *Houſes* of *England* of at leaſt *one third* of their *Burden.*

V. PRO-

V. PROPOSAL.

TO *ſet up Woollen and Silk Manufactures in the Weſt of* England, *and South-Weſt of* Ireland, (ſuppoſing the former PROPOSALS to take Place) *in order to rival the* French.

THE Price * of Labour is as cheap in *thoſe Parts*, as any where in *France*. And when a proper *Subordination* is introduced, the Temptation of *Electioneering* removed, the moſt grievous of our Taxes *aboliſhed*, and a Trade ſet open; it is probable, that Labour might be ſtill

* THE Price of Labour at the Places under mentioned was given me, as follows:

AT *Liſle*, the Wages of Journeymen Stocking and Camblet Weavers, about 24 *Sous per* Day, *i. e.* about 13 Pence *Engliſh*; a *Sous* being a little more than an Halfpenny.

Abbeville and *Amiens:* Journeymen Weavers, and Cloth-Workers, according to the Nature of the Work, and their Dexterity, from 20 to 50 *Sous per* Day.

Ditto: To Women employ'd in the Manufacture, not more than 12 *Sous per* Day.

Hedgers and Ditchers in the Country, about 10 *Sous per* Day.

Nantes: Journeymen Ship-Carpenters, about 30 *Sous per* Day.

Caſtelnaudary: Labourers mending the Canal of *Languedoc*, by the Jobb, earn about 12 *Sous per* Day.

Niſmes: Journeymen Weavers in the Silk and Stocking Trade, from 30 to 35 *Sous per* Day.

Marſeilles: Journeymen Taylors 30 *Sous per* Day.—Ditto Carpenters, 30. —Ditto Silk-Weavers, from 30 to 35 *Sous per* Day.

Toulon:

ſtill *much cheaper:* By which means, the *French* might be cut out of a great deal of their *Levant*, and *Spaniſh* Trade.

MOREOVER, when the Woolen Manufactures come to be effectually eſtabliſhed in thoſe Parts, it will be next to impoſſible to *run* the Wool to *France:* For both the Wool itſelf will bear a *better* Price, ſo as not to make it worth their while; and each *Manufacturer* will be a kind of *Centinel*, to prevent its being exported *unmanufactured*. This therefore I humbly conceive, is a much better Scheme of Prevention, than that of the Reverend Mr *Smith*, in his *Memoirs of* * *Wool*; for

Toulon: Journeymen Carpenters in the King's Yards, 30 *Sous per* Day.

Lions: Journeymen Workmen have ſeveral Prices, according to the Silks, Velvets, Gold Stuffs, Lace, *&c.* *&c.* from 50 to 100 *Sous per* Day.

LAND-CARRIAGE of Goods from *Marſeilles* to *Lions*, and *vice verſa*, (230 *Engliſh* Miles) which is often done either for Speed, or Safety; the *Rhone* being difficult to mount, and fine Goods may take Damage in going down, *per* Hundred, (108 *lb. Engliſh*) from 6 to 7 *Livres*. *N. B.* A *Livre* is 10 Pence Halfpenny *Engliſh*.

* THE Scheme of Prevention propoſed by the Reverend and Ingenious Author of the Memoirs of Wool, is to this Effect; "That the Ports be opened for Exportation, but that ſuch a Duty be laid upon the Wool, as ſhall greatly *diſcourage*, or rather *abſolutely prevent* the Exportation of it; unleſs the Markets in *England* happen to be ſo low, and thoſe abroad ſo high, that the Difference in the Price would countervail the Expence of Carriage, Freight, and the Duty paid at Exportation.

for it anſwers *all* the *Ends* propoſed by him in that Scheme, and is ſubject to *none* of thoſe Inconveniencies which his is *generally ſuppoſed* to be attended with. This Gentleman,—for his *indefatigable* Labours in collecting *all* that has been ever ſaid upon the Subject, and preſenting it to the Reader in *one View*,—for his *judicious* Remarks, and the Pains he has taken in correcting many *popular* Errors, which had too generally prevailed,——moſt juſtly deſerves the *univerſal* Thanks and Applauſe of his Country.

BUT among the ſeveral Requiſites neceſſary to enable us to rival the *French* in the *Levant* and *Spaniſh* Trade, one, and which ought principally to be regarded, is, *To lay the Trade open.* Wherefore I now proceed to the

VI. PROPOSAL.

Viz. TO *lay open and extend our narrow and reſtrained Companies*; beginning with the *Turky* and *Hudſon*'s Bay Companies, which hurt the Trade of *Great Britain* more eſſen-

portation." This is his Scheme fairly ſtated: Upon which I ſhall only make this brief Remark, That the Quantity of Wool run from *England* is *extremely inconſiderable*; the Difficulty, Danger and Expence of Smuggling, together with the *Huſh-Money*, neceſſary on ſuch Occaſions, being already almoſt a ſufficient Bar: But if his Scheme took Place, the Quantity exported of long *combing* Wool to make *Stuffs*, which the *French* chiefly want, would ſometimes be much greater, and the Price at home always *dearer* than it is at preſent.

tially with reſpect to *France*, than any other Company can do.

HERE, again, that *watchful Dragon*, SELF-INTEREST, *will be apt to take the Alarm*; and I do not expect any thing I can ſay will have Charm enough to lay him aſleep. —— Many ſpecious Reaſons have been offered in favour of *excluſive Companies*; which, though they convinced none but thoſe that were *intereſted* in them, yet they ſerved to perplex a Debate, by drawing off Mens Attention from the true Merits of the Cauſe.

I SHALL endeavour therefore, for the ſake of ſuch as have *honeſt* Intentions and a *publick Spirit*, to give an *impartial* State of the Caſe, with as much Clearneſs and Conciſeneſs as I can.

FIRST then, I will *allow*, that in *certain* Caſes, and at *certain* Junctures, excluſive Companies might have been a *prudent* Inſtitution, *calculated* for the *publick Good*; as,

1*ſt*, IN order to introduce Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures among a *barbarous* and *ſavage* People: Which was the Caſe with the late *Czar* of *Muſcovy*. It was neceſſary for him, in his *Circumſtances*, to give ſuch *extenſive* Privileges to Merchants and Tradeſmen to come and ſettle in his Country, as would *overbalance* the Temptation of *Self-Intereſt* for *reſiding* any where elſe.

2*dly*, IN order to induce *ſkilful* Artificers to come and inſtruct an *ignorant* People; which undoubtedly

undoubtedly they will *not do*, unleſs upon a *valuable* Conſideration. — This was the Caſe with our *Engliſh* Princes about Two hundred Years ago, in granting ſo many Privileges and Exemptions to the *Flemiſh*, and other *foreign* Manufacturers.

3*dly*, IN order to conquer the deep-rooted habitual *Lazineſs* of a People, by bringing Examples of Induſtry and the good Effects of it, before their Eyes. This, among other Reaſons, is much the Caſe with the *Spaniſh* Court at preſent, in being ſo deſirous of introducing foreign Manufacturers into *Spain*.

4*thly*, IN order to have a *large Capital*, ſufficient to embark in any hazardous Undertaking, which may call for *great Sums* to be expended, before the *Project* can be brought to bear, and the *Trade* to anſwer. And whereas no *private Perſons* by themſelves, or *voluntary Aſſociations*, can be ſuppoſed equal to ſuch an Undertaking; therefore when Individuals *refuſe* or *decline*, it is but reaſonable that thoſe who adventure in a joint Stock ſhould be incorporated, and have a Privilege excluding all others from interfering in this new Branch of Commerce, *till the Adventurers are

* If private Perſons will not aſſociate voluntarily to embark in ſome hazardous Undertaking, the better Way would be, To allow a ſufficient Premium or Bounty to encourage *all* Adventurers, rather than to grant excluſive Privileges to a *few*. For both the one and the other are a *Charge* on the Publick; but the Monopoly is by much the worſe, the deareſt, and the moſt difficult to be broken through.

ſufficiently paid for the *Riſks* they ran, and the *Expences* they were at.

NOW all theſe are very good and ſufficient Reaſons, *where they hold*, for the Eſtabliſhing of *excluſive* Companies. For it is better to have the Trade of an excluſive Company, than *no Trade at all.* And in *proceſs of Time*, according as the Reaſons for *continuing* them *do ceaſe*, the Trade ſhould be LAID OPEN.

5*thly*, THERE is alſo another Reaſon in certain Governments, whoſe *Credit* is not eſteemed *good* with the *People*, for the erecting of ſuch Publick Bodies. And that is, For the Sake of *borrowing Money* at an *Exigence*, when Individuals will *not truſt* them. This, I believe, *was* the Caſe with our *own Government* in *former* Times.

BUT 6*thly*, There is ſtill a further Motive remaining, which, though a very *bad* and *ſcandalous* one, yet it is to be feared, hath had the *greateſt* Share in erecting *Monopolies* of all the Reſt. And that is, in plain, but very expreſſive *Engliſh*, JOBBING. And moſt of the Charters for Monopolies, which were ſo *plentifully* granted in the Time of King *Charles* the Second, whoſe *Pleaſures* made himſelf and his *Courtiers* very *needy* of Money, *betray* the *Original* from which they were derived. —Particularly that *famous* one for the *Hudſon*'s Bay Company, which is a Grant without any *Bounds* or *Limits* of *Seas*, *Mountains*, *Rivers*, *Degrees* of *Latitude* or *Longitude*; and therefore,

fore, *if valid*, might *impower* the Company to *challenge* all the Lands of *America*, which were *not diſpoſed* of by *prior Grants*, as well as the Coaſts on *Hudſon's Bay*.

BUT enough, I hope, hath been ſaid, as to the Reaſons for the Inſtitution of excluſive Companies.

MY SECOND Attempt therefore, will be to ſhew, That *none* of *theſe Reaſons* do *hold* in *our* preſent Circumſtances. — For *if* any of them do, let me aſk *which?* Is it the Firſt, Second, or Third? I believe the moſt ſanguine Advocate for excluſive Companies, will not inſiſt upon either of theſe. Is it then the Fourth?——This, I am aware, will be *chiefly* inſiſted on. — Not that it can be pretended at this Day, That private Adventurers are either *unable*, or *unwilling* to engage in *any Trade* carried on by a Company, were it *laid open*; but the Pretence is, That a *Recompence* ſhould be made them, *before* they are *diſſolved*, for the *Expences* they have been at. And doubtleſs, if the *original* Adventurers, or their *Repreſentatives*, can make it appear, That they have NOT YET received a *reaſonable* Profit for the Money *advanced* by them to make a *Capital Stock*, the Publick will conſider them *ſo far*, as to make good the *Deficiency*. They have a Plea of *Right* and *Equity* for this. —— But they have no Colour of Right for any *imaginary* Value, which they may put upon their Stocks. Nor is the Publick concerned to

regard it: Nay, the very Plea defeats itself: For if their Stocks have been really sold in the Market greatly *above Par*, this is a plain Proof, that they have received a *reasonable* Profit *already*, for the Money advanced to make a Capital. — And therefore *ought not* to have any *farther Compensation.*

TO proceed: As to the Fifth Reason for exclusive Companies, there can be no Pretence for it any longer in our Times. For it is well known, the Credit of our Government is so good, that Individuals rather *chuse* to lend their Money upon *Publick*, than *private* Securities. — And that they do it even on *cheaper* Terms.

WHEREFORE, lastly, If these *Nusances* to a *Free Trade*, and the *Publick Good*, shall *still continue*, it is too plain, that they will owe their *Preservation* to the *same Cause* that gave them *Birth*, viz. A JOBB.—But that I may express my utter Dislike against them, in common with *every* other DISINTERESTED Man, who *wishes well* to the Good of the *whole Community*, I shall go on,

THIRDLY, To point out a few of the *principal* Evils, and *destructive* Consequences attending them.

IN the *1st* Place, These *exclusive* Companies *cannot* trade, *if they were inclined*, upon so *easy* Terms, as *private* Adventurers *would do*, were the Trade *laid open.* So many *Directors, Supercargoes, Storehouse-keepers, Factors,*

tors, *Agents*, *Clerks*; —and all the *Pickings* of their *ſeveral Dependants*: — ſo many *Fees*, *Sweetnings*, &c. from the *Manufacturer*, or *under Merchant*, that *his Goods* may have *the Preference* to *others*, — and the *Expences* of *carrying* many Sorts of Goods from *diſtant* Parts of the Country, *where* they are *manufactured*, up to the *Metropolis*, *there* to be *Shipped* off, inſtead of being exported from the *next convenient* Port: —*Expences* of *Warehouſes*, &c. &c. make it *impoſſible* for any *Corporate* Company to trade upon an *equal Footing* with *private* Adventurers: — and conſequently of *extending* their Dealings ſo far as if the Trade was open. ☞ For this Reaſon it has been *always* found, That if *private* Adventurers ſhall be *permitted* to *engage* in the *ſame* Trade, they will infallibly carry it away from the Company. * And upon the ſame Principle,

* We have a *convincing* Proof of the Truth of both theſe Obſervations, *1ſt*, In the Caſe of the *African* Company, and the *Briſtol* and *Liverpoole* Traders: *2dly*, We have another, and a *woful one*, in that of our *Engliſh* Company trading to *Turky*, and the *French* trading thither alſo from *Marſeilles*. Our *Engliſh* Company had formerly *all* the Trade for Cloth to the *Levant*: Which being obſerved by the *French*, ever *jealous* of the *Engliſh* Commerce, they ſet up Manufactures of their own in *Imitation* of them. Theſe Manufactures ſtill bear the *Name* from whence they were derived, viz. *Londrins premiers*, —*Londrins ſeconds*,—*Londrins larges*. — But they have ſo *ſupplanted* the Trade of *London*, becauſe it is in the Hands of an *excluſive* Company, that the *Engliſh* have *little* or *nothing* of a Trade, *comparatively* ſpeaking, in thoſe Parts. Whereas the *French* ſhipped off to the *Levant*,

If there are two Nations, *Rivals* in the *ſame Trade*, that Nation which permits a *free and open* Trade, will *always* be *ſuperior* to the other, which *confines* it to a Company:—— *other* Circumſtances ſuppoſed to be *equal*, or *nearly ſo.*

2*dly*, As they cannot trade ſo cheap as private Adventurers, *even were they inclined*, ☞ They muſt therefore *neceſſarily omit* many *leſſer Branches*, as *not anſwering* their *Expenſe*, which in the Hands of *Individuals* would turn to

Levant, the very Day the Seas were free, after the Peace, *July* $\frac{13}{24}$, 1748, FOUR THOUSAND Bales of the above-ſaid Cloth: Each Bale, one with another, worth about 1200 Livres. That is about 210,000 *l.* Sterling in all.

IF it ſhould be ſaid, That the *French* have gotten this Trade from Us, *not* ſo much on the Account of the *Diſadvantage* WE *labour* under from an *excluſive* Company, as the *Advantageouſneſs* of their *Situation*. I have this further Remark to offer; *viz.* That if the Trade was *open*, *We* have many Advantages which they have not, to *counterbalance* the Inconvenience of our Situation.—They are obliged to *import* moſt of their Wool from *Turky*, *Spain*, or *Africa*, into *Marſeilles*; and to carry it *chiefly* by *Land-Carriage* from thence to *Carcaſſonne*, about 130 Miles ——Then to carry the Cloth back to *Marſeilles*; which cannot be done at a *ſmall Expence*. They are alſo obliged to fetch *Tin*, *Lead*, and *Shot* from *England*, and *Spices* from *Holland*, for the *Turky* Markets; in *all* which we have moſt certainly the *Advantage* over them. And therefore, if we had *Woollen* Manufactures erected in the Weſt of *England*, and the South-Weſt of *Ireland*, (according to PROPOSAL V.) where *Labour* is as *cheap* as in *any* Part of *France*, where we have *Wool* on the Spot,— and when manufactured, might be *immediately exported*, without being

to good *Account*, and perhaps give *Bread* to *Thouſands* of Families. Theſe Articles are called *leſſer*, not becauſe they are *leſs extenſive*, for perhaps in *that Reſpect* they may be the *greateſt*, but becauſe they are *leſs gainful*; which therefore a Company muſt leave *untouched*, unleſs they will trade to their *own loſs*.

BUT, 3*dly*, It muſt be obſerved, That the Views of *every excluſive* Company are quite of a *different* Nature from what was *ſuppoſed above*. ☞ For they *do not*, and *never did*, deſire to trade *as cheap* as *others*, but as much *dearer* as *they can*. The *Charter* itſelf *ſecures* them from any *Competitors*; and therefore they have *no need* to ſeek to get the Trade to themſelves by *ſelling cheap*. But on the contrary, *whereever* they have the *Market* to *themſelves*, they will *both ſell* and *buy* at their *own Price*.

THIS is the *greateſt* and moſt *intolerable* of *all* the *Evils* of *Monopolies*. It is a *Proſtitution*

being carried up to *London*; — where *Tin*, *Lead*, and *Spices*, may be had upon much *eaſier Terms* than they can at *Marſeilles*: I ſay, with *all theſe* Advantages, and an *open Trade*, we could more than *counterbalance* any Advantage that the *French* can draw from the *Situation* of *Marſeilles*: and then we might *import* the *raw* Materials of *Silk*, *Camels Hair*, *Skins*, &c. much *cheaper* than at preſent, to the Emolument of *Thouſands* of Families. But for a more particular Detail of the Nature of the *Turky* Company, ſee a little Tract juſt publiſhed, entitled, *Reflections on the Expediency of opening the Trade to Turky*, printed for *T. Trye*, *Holborne*.

tion of the *Trade* and *Welfare* of the *Publick*, to the *mercileſs Ravages* of *greedy* Individuals. ☞ We may the better judge of the *miſchievous* Effects of *all Monopolies*, by *attentively obſerving* the *indefatigable* Pains, and *great* Expence, which every *ſelf-intereſted* Perſon *chearfully* ſubmits to, in order to *acquire* it, even in a *free Trade*. For if he has a *large Capital*, he will *ſink* ſome Part to *underſell* another *Adventurer*, who has *leſs*, in order to BREAK HIM: and then, when he has done that, he will *raiſe* the *Price* of his Commodities again, ſo as to make himſelf ſoon *whole* for the *Loſſes* he had *incurred*. Now if a *private* Merchant can find *his Account* in *loſing* ſo much *Money*, in order to *get at* a *Monopoly* in a *free Trade*, what *exorbitant* Gains muſt an *excluſive* Company make, who are *fenced* in by *Law*, and have none to *rival* them?

☞ NAY the Evil becomes *without Remedy* in this *latter* Caſe. — For whereas in the former, either the *Engroſſer* himſelf, or his Family, will *retire* from Buſineſs, after they have amaſſed great Riches; by which means the Trade will again be *opened*.—In the latter Caſe, *viz.* that of a Company, *One ſucceeds another upon the ſame Plan of preying upon the Publick, without Intermiſſion*. So that neither the *Death*, nor *exorbitant Wealth* of *one Set* of *Proprietors*, give Us any Proſpect of being *delivered* from the *Power* and *Oppreſſion* of the *next*.

BUT

BUT the Affair of a Publick Company (viz. the *Hudſon's Bay*) was,* *laſt Seſſions*, brought upon the Carpet before the *Britiſh Parliament*,—Let us ſee, therefore, What they had to *ſay for themſelves*, when called upon by *their Superiors*,—and when, doubtleſs, they ſaid *all they could*,—and gave every thing the *beſt Colouring*.

IT appears, therefore, from the Papers, which the Honourable Committee, appointed to examine into the State of their Affairs, were pleaſed to make publick, for the general *Information* of the Kingdom, That the following Particulars were *proved* to the *Satisfaction* of the *Committee*,—and even were *not contradicted* by the *Agents* for the *Company*,

1*ſt*, THAT the Company always have *diſcouraged* the *ſettling a Colony* in *any Part* of their *vaſt* and *boundleſs* Empire.

2*dly*, THAT they *diſcouraged* the Company's Servants from *converſing* with the *Indians*,—whereas the *French promoted* an Intercourſe with each other *as much as poſſible*.

3*dly*, THAT the Climate is much *warmer*, and the Soil *better*, *higher* up the Country, than towards the Sea-ſide.—Yet *no Settlements attempted*.

4*thly*, THAT the *French* have *extended* their Settlements *more and more*: and *wherever* they have come near the *Engliſh*, they have carried moſt of the Trade *from the* Engliſh, —— not *vice verſa*.

5*thly*,

* *Viz.* In the Year 1748.

5thly, THAT the *Forts* * pretended to be erected and garriſoned, are of *no Strength*, were they *attacked* by an *European Enemy* ; and only ſerve to ſubject the *Indians* to the *Command* of the Company.

6thly,

* A great Streſs is laid by the Advocates for excluſive Companies, on the *Neceſſity* of erecting *Forts* in certain diſtant Countries, for ſecuring the Trade to ourſelves ; —Therefore they infer Companies ought to be eſtabliſhed in order to ſupport this Expence. A ſtrange Argument this! And a ſtranger Inference! For if Forts are neceſſary to be erected; againſt *whom* are they neceſſary? Not againſt the People of the Country who are to trade with us. That is too abſurd. — We are to *cultivate* their *Friendſhip*, and ought to *ingratiate* ourſelves by all due Acts of Kindneſs, into their Favour. But if theſe Forts are neceſſary to be erected, in order to keep the *whole* Trade to ourſelves, and prevent other *European* Nations from *interfering* with us; How came it then to paſs, that we were ſome Years ago ſo alarmed at the *Oſtend* Company, who had *no* Forts, and no Deſign of attacking ours? Yet it is very plain, they could carry on a Trade, and even *underſell* the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company, notwithſtanding their Forts. And the ſame Fears are again revived with regard to the *Embden* Company eſtabliſhed by the King of *Pruſſia*.—If the Trade was now to be *laid open*, ſubject only to the ſingle Reſtriction, That the private Traders ſhould *not* come into the *ſame* Ports or Harbours, where the Companies have Forts :—What would be the Conſequence? Plainly this ; That the Companies would be ruined: and the private Adventurers, though deſtitute of Forts, would get all the Trade from them.———If it is ſaid, That theſe Forts are neceſſary to guard and defend their Magazines againſt *Thieves* and *Robbers* ; How then comes it to paſs, that the *Eaſt-India* Company themſelves have none on the Coaſt of *China*, were the People are ſaid to be as *thieviſh*

6*thly*, THAT many *other Branches*, beſides the ſtaple Trade of the *Company*, might be attempted, were the *Trade open*, with the *greateſt Probability* of *Succeſs*.——Particularly the ſeveral *Branches* of the *Fiſheries:* Whereas the Company, *who know when they are well*, as one of their Witneſſes expreſſed himſelf, or in Words to that Effect, give themſelves no Concern about the Matter.

7*thly*, THAT the *Indians* do actually take a *great many more Beaver*, than they carry to the Factories.——Not finding it *worth their While* to bring more to trade with.

thieviſh and *diſhoneſt* as in any Place in the World ?—— And how did the *Briſtol* and *Liverpoole* Traders maintain their Ground along the Coaſt of *Guinea*, without Forts, where the Natives are much more *warlike* than in any Part of *India*. Beſides, the Affair of *Madraſs* has ſufficiently opened our Eyes, as to the *Uſe* and *Importance* of theſe pretended Forts,—and the *National* Advantage ariſing from them. And as to the Forts in *Hudſon's Bay*, Father *Charlevoix* obſerves in his Hiſtory of *Canada*, that when a *French* Veſſel with about fifty Hands, appeared before the beſt of theſe Forts, the brave *Engliſh* Governor ſurrendred without firing a Gun! Thus it is, That Forts, in the Hands of excluſive Companies, have defended the Honour, and preſerved the Commerce of *Great Britain!*

BUT even allowing, that they are neceſſary and advantageous to the *general* Trade of the Nation; What need then of a *Company?* Is it not a *National* Concern? If ſo, Why ſhould they not be erected and ſupported at a *National* Expence? Take the Argument therefore either way, What Reaſon is there for an *excluſive* Company?

8*thly*,

8*thly*, THAT the *Indians* cannot carry *large* Quantities, not any thing *ſo large* as they take in *Hunting*, *were* they *deſirous*,---becauſe their Canoes, *deeply loaden*, are *not able* to *withſtand* the *Waves* and *Storms* they may meet with upon the *Lakes* ;---becauſe they are forced to *unload* very often, and carry the Skins upon their *Backs*, on account of the *Falls* and *Currents*; which create much *Fatigue* and *Labour*, and *Loſs* of *Time:* --- becauſe alſo they are obliged to *hunt* as they travel, for their *daily* Suſtenance; which Article alone cauſes a *Delay of* a *Fortnight*, and longer, in going the Space which might be gone in *three Days*.

BUT, 9*thly*, all theſe *Inconveniencies* might be *eaſily remedied*,---by *erecting* a *Fort* about Sixty Leagues above *York* Fort upon *Nelſon* River, upon a Fork, where the River divides, ----by *making a Settlement* about Eighty or Ninety Leagues above that, upon the Lake of *Pachegoia*, --- and by introducing our *European* Conveniencies of *Magazines* and *Carriages*. By theſe *Means*, *all* the Beaver would be bought, which the *Indians* now make uſe of *otherways*, as *not anſwering* to bring it to the Forts, --- the *Time* might be *ſaved*, --- and the *French* driven to relinquiſh all that Trade. In ſhort, both our *Exports*, and our *Imports* would be *prodigiouſly* increaſed; and many Tribes of *Indians* would, in that large Tract of Country, be brought to trade with the *Engliſh*,

Engliſh, who have yet *ſcarcely heard* of the *Engliſh* Name.

So many *important* Particulars *alledged*,—*proved*,---and even *not contradicted*, one would think, would have been ſufficient to have carried any NATIONAL CAUSE, againſt the *private Intereſt* of a *few Individuals*.

BUT---Let us in the next Place ſee, What they and their Friends had to offer in *Juſtification* of their Conduct,----*Pretending*, that they carried on a Trade *equally beneficial* to the Nation, as if the Trade *was open*.

THE *1ſt* Thing alledged, was, That they *buy all the Beaver which is brought them*; —— and if more was offered, *more they would buy*.

THIS may be very *true*; and yet no ways inconſiſtent with the Charge ſummed up in the above-recited Particulars, againſt them.--The *Indians*, as *ſavage* as they are, have the NATURAL LOGICK of *feeling* when they are *well* or *ill uſed*, as well as other People: And if they find *better* Treatment in *one* Place than *another*, will go to the *beſt*, and have as *little* Dealings with the *worſt*, as *they can*. Nothing but *abſolute* Neceſſity will oblige *them* (or *any People*) to bring their Goods to a Market, where they *expect beforehand* to be *ill uſed*.---And for that Reaſon, they will bring as *little* as *they can*. But when they have brought them, *Neceſſity* obliges them to *ſell* for what the Purchaſers *will give*. It may therefore be very true, that the Company *buy* all

all the Furrs that are *offered* them. --- If they did not give *half as much* in Barter as *they do*, they would *buy all*; becauſe it would not be worth the *Indians* while to carry them back; and becauſe they greatly wanted *European* Goods. But theſe *Indians* would ſeek *another* Market againſt the *next Time*, if they could; and would bring *no more* Goods to the *Company*, than *abſolute* Neceſſity obliged them.

BUT, 2*dly*, It was alledged, That if *more* Goods were given to the *Indians* in Exchange, they would not bring *more* Beavers; becauſe they are an *idle*, *lazy* Race of People; and, having no *artificial* Wants to gratify, have no *Ambition* to ſpur them on to take more Pains,—It is true, They have not *ſuch* artificial Wants as We have; They do not want *ſumptuous* Houſes and Gardens, *rich* Furniture, or *Coaches* and *Chairs*:—But they want *Beads*, *Bells*, little *Looking-Glaſſes*, *Rings*, and ſuch Trinkets; (beſides many Articles of their Cloathing, Bedding, Hunting, Fiſhing, and Fowling) and are as *impatient* to be *gratified* in theſe Reſpects, as *we* can be in *ours*. In theſe Things, therefore, they are *as* covetous and ambitious as the *Reſt* of *Mankind*,—take as much *Pains* to *acquire* them, — and *repine* and *murmur* at the Factories, when they have not *as much* for their Commodities as they *think* they *deſerve*. Beſides, it ſhould be remembered, that *Hunting* is rather a *Diverſion* with them, than a *Toil*; and that, in Fact, they

they do take a great *deal more* than they bring down to the Forts, — What they conſider as a *Toil*, is not the *hunting Part*, but the being obliged to be the *Porters* of what they have taken in Hunting, down to the Factories; and yet be paid *ſo little* for their Trouble.

BUT, 3*dly*, As to the Charge againſt them, of *Exporting* ſo *little* of our *own Manufactures*; it was ſaid by their *Advocates*, That if *Five Thouſand* Pounds worth of Goods *bought all* the Furrs the *Indians* had to *ſell, that* * Sum was *as good* as *Ten Thouſand* Pounds: Nay, it was *better*; becauſe thereby *Five Thouſand* Pounds were *ſaved* to the Nation. THIS

* THERE was an egregious *Fallacy* uſed in this Argument. — If the Barter or Exchange with the *Indians* had been in *Bullion*, the Argument would have held *good*; and ſo much *Money* would have been ſaved to the Nation. But as it was all in our *own Manufactures*, *i. e.* the *Labour* of our own People, the Diminiſhing of *ſuch* Exports, is in Fact the *Diminiſhing* of our own *Manufactures*, and *defrauding* the Nation of ſo much *Labour*, whereby the Hands employed in thoſe Manufactures muſt become a *Rent-charge* upon the Publick,—or *ſteal*,—or *ſtarve*, or *fly* their Country. ☞ The *only* Limitation which *ought* to be put upon the *Quantity* of our own Manufactures, to be *exported*, is what the *Nature* of the Thing will of *itſelf* put upon them; *viz.* To export *no more* than is conſiſtent with the *reaſonable* Gains and Profit of the *Exporter*. If he can afford to export *Ten Thouſand* Pounds worth of *Engliſh* Manufactures, where an excluſive Company would export but *Five Thouſand*; it is for the *general* Good of

THIS is a Reaſon, which is *ſpecious* enough at firſt View, but will not bear the *examining*. Firſt therefore, we *deny the Fact*; and inſiſt upon it, That the *Indians* had *more* Furrs to *ſell*, if the Company would have given a *ſufficient* Price to the *Indians*, to have made it worth their while to have *brought* them *down*; or rather, If the Company had built Settlements and Magazines higher up, ſo as to have *ſuperſeded* the Neceſſity of the *Indians* coming down.

BUT 2*d*, We will *allow the Fact*, and argue with them upon their *own State* of the Caſe. Now if *Five Thouſand* Pounds worth of Manufactures, in this Reſpect, is as *good*, nay *better* than *Ten Thouſand* Pounds worth; for the ſame Reaſon, *One Thouſand* Pounds worth is *better ſtill*, becauſe *more* would be *ſaved* to the Nation. Suppoſe therefore, that the *Company*, and every other *Exporter* in the Kingdom, (for every other has the *ſame Right* of arguing in this manner) ſuppoſe, I ſay, that *all*

the Country, that he *ſhould do* it. And all Trade ought to be laid *free* and *open*, in order to *induce* the Exporters to *rival* each other; that the Publick may obtain this general Good by their *Competitorſhip*. But if they cannot afford to export ſo much, there is no need to *reſtrain* them by *Laws* and *Penalties*, from doing *that* which their own *private* Intereſt will ſuggeſt to them ſoon enough. And it is really aſtoniſhing, That ſuch a Fallacy, ſo groſs in itſelf, ſo deſtructive in its Conſequences, could have eſcaped the Notice of a *Britiſh* Senate, and could have paſſed not only without Cenſure, but with ſome Degree of Applauſe.

all Exporters could *leſſen* the *Exportations* of our own Manufactures by *nine Tenths*, and yet could get *as much* Money, or Effects in *return*, as they had *before*; What would be the *Conſequence?* Why, only this, That *theſe Exporters* would become PRINCES; and the *Reſt* of the Kingdom BEGGARS. They would be like a *Spaniſh Don* in *Mexico*, or *Peru*, who has a prodigious rich Mine, which required but *few Hands* to work it. And therefore he indeed would be a *great Lord*; but all his Wealth would *not enrich* the *Neighbourhood*, ſo much as a *ſingle Manufacture* here in *England*, which being *branched* out into *various* Hands, gives a *comfortable* Subſiſtence to *many* Families, cauſing a general Circulation of Labour.

IT is not therefore *Gold and Silver*, conſidered *merely in themſelves*, that can make a Kingdom *flouriſh*, but the *Parceling* them out into *proper Shares*, by means of the *Diviſions* and *Subdiviſions* of *different* Trades. Without this the *more Riches* in a *few* Hands,—the *greater* would be the *Poverty* of the *Reſt*, and the more *abject* and *dependent* their State would be. And if *all Merchants* were no *better* Commonwealths Men than *theſe*, the *Interior* of a Kingdom would be very *little profited* by *Foreign Merchandize*, ——nay, in *ſome* Reſpects would be *much the Worſe*.

IN ſhort, *ſuch* an *Argument* as this, *viz.* to *decreaſe* our *Exports*, and *increaſe* their *Price* abroad, BEYOND what is *neceſſary* for the

comfortable Subſiſtence of the *Merchant* and *Manufacturer*, *Is only worthy of ſuch a Cauſe.* Were it put in *Practice*, it would get all the *Wealth* of the *Nation* into a *few Hands*, — it would turn *nine Tenths* of our Manufacturers a *Begging*,—and *reduce* them to the *Neceſſity* of becoming *Lacqueys* and *Footmen* to *ſuch Exporters*,—or ſtarving,—or flying the Country. —It would *ſink* the *Value* of our *Lands*, and bring *ſwift* Deſtruction on the *Manufacturer*, *Farmer*, *Gentleman*, and *all* Stations,—*except* the *Exporter*. He indeed would be GREAT,---and *he alone*. One may therefore the better judge of the *Goodneſs* of *ſuch a Cauſe*, which required *ſuch kind* of Arguments to *ſupport it*. And ſo much for *excluſive Companies*.

VII. PROPOSAL.

To *encourage Foreign Merchants and Tradesmen to ſettle among Us, by a general Naturalization Act for all Proteſtants.* And if it be judged improper to admit them into *Offices* of *Truſt* or *Power*, it is eaſy to add a Clauſe, That *theſe Privileges* ſhall ſtill be *confined* to the *natural-born* Subjects.

HERE again the *baleful* Spirit of *Self-Intereſt* exerts all its Powers to *oppoſe* ſo *publick* and *general* a Benefit, —— "*What! muſt Fo-*
"*reigners, and we know not who, come and take*
"*the Bread out of our Mouths?* —An honeſt
Cambro-

Cambro-Briton would have called *all Engliſh-men* Foreigners, *and he knows not who.* But waving that,—Let me calmly aſk, *What Bread* do they eat ?---and *out* of *whoſe Mouths?* It muſt be *Engliſh* Bread: The Corn *grew* here, ---was *manufactured*, was *ſold* here. And the Foreigners, who eat it, *earn* it by their *Labour*, and *pay* for it. So far then, we hope, there is *no Offence.* The *more Inhabitants* there are to *conſume* the *Produce* of our Lands, the *better* can the *Farmer* and the *Gentleman* pay their *Shopkeepers* and *Tradeſmen*, and the *more Manufactures* will they conſume in *every Reſpect.* Let us ſee therefore, in the next Place, *Out of whoſe Mouths do they take this Bread?* If they introduce *new* Manufactures, or carry thoſe already eſtabliſhed to *greater* Perfection, in that Caſe the Publick is greatly benefited, and no Individual can be injured. If they employ themſelves only in ſuch as are already *ſettled* and *perfected*, they will not defraud the Mouths of *ſober*, *frugal*, and *induſtrious* Perſons, who may work *as cheap*, and can work as well as *Foreigners.* And therefore ſhould be obliged to do both. It can be, therefore, none but the *abandoned*, *debauched*, and *diſſolute*, who would chuſe to be *idle three* or *four* Days in a Week, and want to have their Wages ſo *high* as to *ſupport* this *Extravagance*, that can make ſuch a *Complaint?* And ſhall *they* be heard? Shall we *continue* the Excluſion of all ſober and induſtrious Foreigners, ſo

much to the *National Diſadvantage*, merely to gratify the *extravagant* and *unreaſonable* Humours of ſuch Wretches as *theſe?* Surely, it is to be hoped, we ſhall purſue more prudent Meaſures, both for *our Sakes*, and *their own.*

BUT we are told farther, "*That* Engliſh *Tradeſmen, of every Denomination, are* "USED *to live better than Foreigners; and* "*therefore* CANNOT *afford to work or ſell ſo* "*cheap as they.*"—Be it ſo: Carry then this Argument to a *Foreign Market*, and ſee whether it will *perſwade* the *Inhabitants* of *that Country* to *trade* with you. A *French*, and an *Engliſh Merchant*, are *Competitors* with, and *Rivals* to each other in the Markets of *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Turky*, and in ſhort all over the World. The *French* Man offers his Goods at 20, 15, 10, or 5 *per Cent.* cheaper than the *Engliſh.*—Our Countryman is demanded, *Why* he will not ſell his Goods *as cheap* as *others?* His Anſwer is, "*That the Manu-* "*facturers and Merchants live better in* Eng-"land *than Foreigners do, and therefore he* "*cannot afford it.*" This is a moſt *perſwaſive* Argument. — Undoubtedly he will *ſell* much Cloth by *alledging* it.——He is aſked again, Why they will not in his Country *admit* Foreigners, who work *cheaper*, to *ſettle* among them, that ſo they may be able to trade upon an *equal Footing* with their Neighbours? To this he replies, "*That Foreigners, and he knows*

not

" *not who, ought not to come and take the Bread* " *out of the Mouths of the Natives.*"---- Such *kind* of *Reaſoning* muſt give them an high Idea of the *Senſe* and *Diſcernment* of our *Countryman.* Let us therefore apply the Caſe to ourſelves, and not argue in that *abſurd* and *ridiculous* Manner at *home*, which he is repreſented as doing *abroad.*

THE Admiſſion then of Foreigners to ſettle in our Country, is ſo far from taking the Bread *out* of the Mouths of the Natives, that it is putting Bread *into* the Mouths of thoſe, who, *otherwiſe*, in a ſhort Time muſt have *none.* For the *Engliſh* muſt trade, at leaſt, upon an *equal* Footing with other Nations, or not trade *at all.*---And then, when the *not Trading* at all is the Conſequence, we ſhall indeed have *no Foreigners* to complain of, but we ſhall have a much *ſorer* Evil:---- and then, perhaps when it is too late, the moſt *Self-Intereſted* among us will be ſorry, that we had not admitted the frugal and induſtrious from all Parts of the World, to ſhare the Gains of Trade with them, rather than to have none at all.

BUT let us try all this Reaſoning by plain Matters of Fact. The Town of *Birmingham*, for Example, admits all Perſons to come and ſettle among them; whom, though they are *Engliſhmen*, the *original Natives* of the Place may as juſtly term *Foreigners* with regard to *them*, as we ſtile other Nations by that Name. —— " *Foreigners*, therefore, and *I*

" *know not who*, came from *all* Parts, and " ſettled at *Birmingham*; and--took the Bread " *out* of the Mouths of the *original* Natives." What then was the Conſequence of this great Wickedneſs?—Why, within theſe few Years, the Trade and Buildings of the Town have been prodigiouſly increaſed, and all the Eſtates for a great many Miles round, have felt the Benefit of this *great Acceſſion* of Trade and Inhabitants. *Birmingham*, from being a Place of *little Conſequence*, is now become one of the moſt *flouriſhing* and *conſiderable* in the Kingdom. And there is no Town, with its *excluſive* Charters, that can boaſt of ſo many *ſkilful* Artiſts, as this which *admits all Comers*.

MOREOVER, there are *fewer Beggars* in this Town, *Mancheſter* and *Leeds*, where all are *free*, than in any which has *Companies* of Trades, and *excluſive* Charters. ☞ So true and certain it is, That theſe *Rights* and *Privileges*, as they are *called*, do *multiply* the Numbers of the *Poor*, inſtead of diminiſhing them; becauſe they *damp* the Spirit of Induſtry, Frugality, and Emulation. A Manufacturer, who knows, that no Foreigner *dares* come in to be a *Competitor* againſt him, thinks himſelf PRIVILEGED to be *idle*. And all ſuch Privileges are juſt ſo many Combinations to *ſink* the *Value* of Lands, and prevent the *Extenſion* of Commerce.

THE other Inſtance I ſhall mention, is the Caſe of the *French Hugonots*, who fled from the

the Perſecution of *Lewis* XIV, and took refuge in *England*. But great was the Outcry againſt them, at their firſt coming. "Poor "*England* would be *ruined!* Foreigners *en-*"*couraged!* And our own People *ſtarving!*" This was the popular Cry of thoſe Times. — But the *Looms* in *Spittle-Fields*, and the *Shops* on *Ludgate-Hill*, have at laſt ſufficiently taught us another Leſſon. And now, it is hoped, we may ſay without Offence, Theſe *Hugonots* have been ſo far from being of *Diſſervice* to the *Nation*, that they have partly *got*, and partly *ſaved*, in the Space of fifty Years, a Balance in our Favour of, at leaſt, FIFTY MILLIONS Sterling.

IN ſhort, Self-Intereſt apart, What *good* Reaſon can be aſſigned, why we ſhould not admit Foreigners among Us? — Our Country is but *thinly* inhabited, in Compariſon to what it *might* be: And many hundred Thouſands of Acres of *good* Land, in *England* and *Wales*, not to mention *Scotland* and *Ireland*, lie either entirely waſte, or are not ſufficiently cultivated, for want of Hands, and Perſons to conſume the Product. Our vaſt *Commons*, all over the Kingdom, and many of the *Foreſts* and *Chaces*, might be parcelled out in Lots, to ſuch of the Foreigners as chuſe a Country Life; and the Reſt might find Employment, in ſome ſhape or other, in the different Manufactures. The Natives of *England* likewiſe do not *increaſe* ſo faſt, as thoſe of other Countries; our common People being

being much more *abandoned* and *debauched*. The *Marriage State* alſo is not ſufficiently encouraged among Us: and ten Thouſand *common Whores* are not ſo fruitful (ſetting aſide the *Sin* of the *Parents*, the *Diſeaſes* of the *few* Children that are *born*, and their want of a *proper* and *virtuous* Education) I ſay, 10,000 common Whores are not ſo fruitful as *fifty* healthy young married Women, that are *honeſt* and *virtuous*: By which Means, the State is defrauded of the Increaſe of upwards of 199 Subjects out of 200, every Year.—Add to all this, that it has been long obſerved by Men of Thought and Speculation, That more *young Children* die in *England* from the *Birth* to *two Years* old, than in any other Country. The Sea likewiſe, and our extenſive Plantations, are a continual Drain upon us. And the manufacturing Poor at home are *killing themſelves*, and, if I may be allowed the Expreſſion, their *Poſterity* likewiſe, as faſt as they can, by thoſe ſure *Inſtruments* of *Death*, *Gin* and *Spirituous* Liquors. For ALL theſe Reaſons therefore, as well as on Account of *lowering* the Price of Labour, and preventing the *Combinations* of Journeymen, ſo *loudly* complained of, and *ſeverely* felt throughout the Kingdom, it is humbly hoped, That thoſe Perſons who have hitherto oppoſed the *Naturalization* Bill, will ſee Cauſe to change their Sentiments; and will look upon it as highly *uſeful* and *expedient*, and productive of the

the greateſt *National* Advantages. There are many thouſands of Manufacturers, both in Silk and Woollen, in the South of *France*, all *zealous Proteſtants*, who would gladly come over, if they could learn that they ſhould meet with a kind Reception. As to the Difficulty of making their Eſcape out of the *French* King's Dominions, they would find Ways and Means to deceive even the *Vigilance* of *their* Governors, by retiring, as it were one by one, and removing under various Pretences, towards the manufacturing Towns in *Picardy* and *French-Flanders*, (from whence they could ſo eaſily paſs over to us) were they ſure of finding Protection and reaſonable Encouragement. And as *England* and *France* are *Rivals* to each other, and *Competitors* in almoſt all Branches of Commerce, every *ſingle* Manufacturer ſo coming over, would be our Gain, and a DOUBLE Loss to *France*.

UPON a Review of this Propoſal, as it ſtood in the Second Edition, the Author cannot ſee any Cauſe for that Fury and Reſentment, ſo liberally beſtowed upon him, for offering his Thoughts, he hopes in no improper manner, to publick Conſideration. — If his Arguments were *inconcluſive*, why were they not anſwered?—If *abſurd*, they ought to have been deſpiſed: But ſince they were thought worthy of ſo much Notice, why doth not ſome Perſon undertake to *confute* a late Treatiſe, *viz. Reflections on the Expediency of naturalizing foreign*

foreign Proteſtants, wrote expreſsly to vindicate this Propoſal? Such a Method would have been fair and ingenuous, deſerving the Regard of the Publick, and the Thanks of the Writer of this Treatiſe, who would have thought it *no Diſgrace* to have acknowledged his Error in the moſt open Manner.— But it *ever was* the hard Fate of thoſe who have laboured to promote the *true Intereſts* of their Country, and to eſtabliſh a general Syſtem for the Propagation of *National Virtue and Good Morals*, to be vilified and inſulted, while *Living*, and never to have real Juſtice done to their Characters, till they are *dead*. A Man may write Pieces of *Entertainment*, and be *applauded*:— Or he may dip his Pen in *Gall* for the Uſe of a *Party*, and be *adored*: But he muſt not bend his Studies for the *general Good*, with a Dependence on any other Reward, than that which ariſes in his own Breaſt for having done his Duty.

VIII. PROPOSAL.

To encourage a Trade with our own Plantations, in *all ſuch Articles as ſhall make for the mutual Benefit of the Mother Country, and her Colonies.*

THE Reaſons for this Propoſal are very obvious and convincing:— and yet, as *ſelf-intereſted* Perſons will be apt to ſtart Objections, and

and raiſe Difficulties, it may be proper to expatiate upon theſe Reaſons a little.

1*ſt*, THEREFORE, it is neceſſary that we ſhould encourage a Trade to our own Plantations for all Sorts of *Naval Stores*, in order that we may not be too *dependent* upon the *Will* and *Pleaſure* of *Foreign* Courts, with regard to theſe neceſſary Things. Many, if not moſt of the *Implements* for *Navigation*, and conſequently for a *Sea War*, are purchaſed from the ſeveral Nations bordering upon the *Baltick*. Suppoſe then that *Sweden*, *Ruſſia*, or *Denmark*, ſhould, for certain Reaſons of State, or by the *Intrigues* of the *French*, lay an Embargo on theſe Commodities, at a *Criſis* when we greatly wanted them;—or ſhould *refuſe* them to Us, and *ſell* them to our Enemies; to what a *diſtreſſed* Situation would this reduce Us? and who can tell what might be the Conſequences of it? And as the Politicks of Princes are ever *fluctuating* and *changing*, why ſhould we put it in the Power of any Potentate to have ſuch a *Command* over Us?

2*dly*, As the Balance in regard to all theſe Countries is conſiderably *againſt Us*, common *Prudence* will ſuggeſt, that we ought to *turn* it in *our Favour*, if we *can*. Now this we ſhall be *able* to do (or at the worſt, bring it to an *Equilibrium*, which in itſelf is *no diſadvantageous* kind of Commerce) if we can purchaſe the ſame Commodities in our own Plantations, which we uſed to import from theſe Countries.

Beſides,

Beſides, the Balance is not only againſt Us with regard to *Sweden*, but alſo the very Money which is drawn from Us by means of this *loſing* Trade, is converted to *ſupport* a *French* Intereſt, in *Oppoſition* to ours. But

3*dly*, WERE the Caſe *indifferent*, *where* we traded, (which it *is not)* the natural Affection, which the Mother Country ſhould have for her Colonies, where we have ſo many Friends, Relations, and Acquaintance, ſhould determine Us to give *them* the *Preference*. — But indeed our own Intereſt is *nearly* and *eſſentially* concerned in this Affair: For,

4*thly*, UNLESS we *promote* a Trade with *them*, and take off the *Growth* and *Commodities* of their *Plantations*, they will be reduced to the *Neceſſity* of *Offering* them to Sale at *other Markets*, or *permitting* other Nations to *come* and *trade* with them: The Conſequence of which will be, that they will take the Product and Manufactures of theſe Nations in *return*. And indeed this is too much the Caſe at preſent: For *one third*, at leaſt, of the Luxuries and Elegancies of Life, brought into our Colonies (as was obſerved * before) is the Growth and Manufacture of other Countries, and principally of *France*. And as our Trade, particularly to ſome of the Northern Colonies, is growing leſs and leſs, this Evil muſt daily increaſe in the ſame Proportion. Moreover,

5*thly*,

* See the XIth Diſadvantage of GREAT BRITAIN. Page 45.

5thly, UNLESS we can ſupply our Colonies with ſuch Commodities and Manufactures as they *want*, by way of *Barter* for ſome of theirs which they can ſpare,—They will be *obliged* to raiſe thoſe Things themſelves. And ſeeing that many of the *new* Settlements on the Continent of *America*, are ſeveral hundred Miles up the Country, *between*, and *beyond* the Mountains; this Diſtance of Situation will *increaſe* the Neceſſity they are already under of manufacturing for themſelves,——unleſs we can *divert* their Thoughts to ſome other *Projects*. Nay more, when once a Manufacture is ſet up in thoſe diſtant Regions, it will extend itſelf downwards; and the Inhabitants on the Sea-Coaſt will be ſupplied by their Neighbours in the Up-Lands, upon cheaper and eaſier Terms than we can ſupply them.—It is a juſt Complaint, That many of the Provinces have ſet up ſeveral Species of Manufactures, which greatly interfere with the Trade and Proſperity of their Mother Country. Yet how ſhall we prevent them?——There is but one Way to do it, that is either *juſt*, or *practicable:* and that is, By an *Exchange* of Commodities to MUTUAL BENEFIT. —— A mutual Benefit is a MUTUAL DEPENDENCE. And this Principle alone will contribute more to the preſerving of the Dependency of our Colonies upon their Mother Country, than any other Refinement or Invention. For if we are afraid, that one Day or other they will revolt,

and

and ſet up for themſelves, as ſome ſeem to apprehend; Let us not *drive* them to a Neceſſity to *feel* themſelves *independent* of us:—As they *will* do, the Moment they perceive, that they can be ſupplied with all Things from *within* themſelves, and do not *need* our Aſſiſtance. If we would keep them ſtill dependent upon their Mother Country, and in ſome Reſpects *ſubſervient* to her *Views*, and *Welfare*;—Let us make it their INTEREST always ſo to be.

FOR theſe Reaſons therefore, it is humbly apprehended, That the Trade to our *Colonies* and *Plantations*, muſt appear to be of the utmoſt Conſequence to the Power, Strength, and Proſperity of *Great Britain*. But to effectuate this good End, an important Queſtion comes next to be decided; *viz.* "What Pro-"duce ſhould our Colonies be moſt encou-"raged to raiſe and cultivate?——And what "Sort of Manufactures ſhall they be allowed "to barter in Return for ours?"—It is eaſy to ſee, That they cannot make large Payments in Gold and Silver; and it is alſo equally plain and certain, That we *will* not, *cannot*, indeed allow them to introduce ſuch Things among us, as will prevent the Conſumption of *our own* Commodities, to ſuch a *Degree*, as to be *upon the whole*, of *National* Diſadvantage.

WHEREFORE, with great Submiſſion, I will beg Leave to offer ſome few plain *Obſervations*, which perhaps might not be altogether

ther unſerviceable as to the Regulation of ſuch a Trade.

FIRST then, It ſeems chiefly requiſite, that due *Encouragement* ſhould be given to our Colonies, to apply their Thoughts towards the raiſing of *ſuch* Commodities, as do *not* interfere with thoſe of the Mother Country.

SECONDLY, They ſhould alſo not only be allowed, but be *particularly incouraged* to *import* all ſuch RAW MATERIALS as are to be *manufactured* here in *England*; — even though we raiſe the ſame Sort ourſelves: Becauſe the *more* we have of theſe, the *better*; ſince the *cheaper* they are *purchaſed*, the more of them can be *worked* up, and the more there are worked up, the *greater* Number of Hands are *employed*; and conſequently, the more Labour, or Employment is procured to the Nation. Moreover, this Argument becomes ſo much the ſtronger, if the *raw Materials* we have of our own, are by no means *ſufficient* for the Demand of the Manufacture, either as to *Quantity*, or *Goodneſs*; which is the Caſe with the *Bar-Iron* here made in *England*; ſo that we are obliged to have recourſe to foreign Countries for a Supply;——as in the Caſe of Bar-Iron we do to *Sweden*, to the Amount of near 200,000 *l.* Sterling a Year.

THIRDLY, We ought to permit our Colonies to ſupply us upon eaſy Terms with all ſuch Articles of Luxury as we are *wedded* to, and *will* have either from *them*, or *others*.——

Conſequently, in Reaſon and good Policy, *they* ought to have the Preference, by being *indulged* to import theſe Articles under the Advantage of an *caſy* and *reaſonable* Duty; whilſt the Commodities of *foreign* Nations are charged with *higher* Impoſts and Cuſtoms. In ſuch a Caſe, the mutual *Exchange* of Commodities between us and the Colonies would become a *mutual Advantage:* But that is not all; For as the Duties would be *moderate*, the Temptations to Smuggling would be *ſmall*; the Conſumption of the Commodities of our own Colonies *greater*, and that of other Nations *leſs:* By which means, the Revenue itſelf would riſe much higher than it doth, when there are large and heavy Duties: For theſe will ever be attended with one or other of the following Effects, either the preventing the *Importation* of the Commodity, or its *Entrance* at the Cuſtom-houſe.

FOURTHLY, In the Regulation of a Trade with our Colonies, ſome Regard ſhould be had to thoſe diſtant Parts of the Country, which lie remoteſt from the Sea; that even the fartheſt Inhabitants may likewiſe find Employment in the raiſing of ſuch Commodities as are fitteſt for their Situation, and are light of Carriage. And if their Thoughts are properly taken up in the Cultivation of theſe Things, they will have neither Time, nor Inclination to purſue other *Projects*, which might prove detrimental to the Mother Country.

FROM

FROM these Principles therefore it seems clearly to follow, That the Culture of *Coffee*, *Cocoa Nut*, *Cochineal*, *Indico*, and *Pimento*, ought especially to be encouraged in the *mountainous*, *inland Part* of *Jamaica*.——And that of *Bar-Iron*, *Hemp*, *Flax*, *Indico*, and *Raw Silk*, in the Countries between, and beyond the Mountains, on the Back of *Carolina*, *Virginia*, *Pensilvania*, &c.

SOME of these indeed are *heavy* Goods; and therefore seem not so proper to be raised in a Country so far distant from any *Sea-Port:* But on the other hand, when it is considered how particularly rich the Soil in those Parts is, and how well adapted the Country for the raising such Articles, and how conveniently the Inhabitants could load the Cattle they bring down every Market Day, with these Commodities; the Difficulty, I hope, in great Part vanishes, and the Propriety of assigning these Tracts of Land for the Culture of them, evidently appears.

ENOUGH therefore has been said, to evince beyond all Contradiction, That it is the INTEREST of the KINGDOM, that such a Trade as here described, should be carried on: But whether it is the *Interest* of the *Merchant* to EMBARK in it, is another Question: And yet, till he can find his own *private* Account in the Affair, it is too clear a Point, that whatever has been said as to the *Publick* and *National* Advantage, will pass for *nothing*. —

A Merchant will not engage in a *losing* Trade, and *ruin* himself to *benefit* his Country. Indeed it is unreasonable to expect he should. And the great Complaint against the Trade to some of our *Northern* Colonies long has been, That there is *nothing* to be *got by it*; that is, That the Merchant can get nothing, or next to nothing, if compared to his Gains to and from other Places. The Trade to *Denmark*, *Sweden*, or *Russia*, is more *advantageous* to *him*, though very *detrimental* to his *Country*; and therefore, if we would expect the Merchant to turn his Thoughts wholly to the Plantation-Trade, we must cause him to find his *chief* Interest in the Pursuit of it.

Now there are *four* Ways or Methods for *turning* a Trade into a *new* Channel, and *stopping* up the *old* one.

THE *first* is, By laying *additional* Duties upon the Commodities of *one* Country, but not on those of *another*. By this means, if the Commodities are in any Degree *equal* to each other in *Goodness* and *Value*, the former will be prevented from being imported, on Account of their *Dearness* to the Consumer; and the latter will have the Preference, by reason of their *Cheapness*. But this Method, however expedient at particular Junctures, is to be used with great Wariness and Caution. For every such additional Duty put upon the Commodities of a foreign Country, will be looked upon by that Country, as an Act of *Hostility* com-

committed upon its Trade and Commerce; which they will be ſure to revenge upon the Commodities and Manufactures of the Country that was the *Aggreſſor*. Beſides, high additional Duties are too *violent* and *precipitate* a Method of turning a Trade into a *new* Channel,—eſpecially where the Manufacture is yet in its *Infancy*, and cannot *anſwer* the *Demand* for it. It is therefore much more ſafe and prudent, to incline the Scale *gently* and *gradually* on the Side you would favour; that ſo the Inhabitants of that Country may have *time* to raiſe the proper *Quantity* of the Commodities that are wanted, and may *increaſe* and *perfect* their Manufactures, by due *Application* and *Experience*.—And alſo, that we ourſelves may not be diſtreſſed on Account of the *Scarceneſs*, or the *Badneſs* of the Commodity; or be forced to pay an exorbitant Price, by means of the *Monopoly* which the Inhabitants of the *favoured* Country will have againſt us.

WHEREFORE, *ſecondly*, another more *commodious*, and leſs *exceptionable* Way, is, To grant certain *Privileges* and *Exemptions*; —— which ſhall *continue* till the Trade is ſufficiently *eſtabliſhed*, and needs *no Support*; that is, till the Merchant can find it *worth* his *while* to *engage* in it, without being paid at the *publick* Expence. Suppoſe therefore, that at the *Beginning* of ſuch a Trade, certain Commodities were permitted to be imported upon *eaſy Terms*;——or rather DUTY FREE, which

is better ſtill: Then our Colonies would turn their Thoughts to the *raiſing* them; and the Merchant would find his own private Account in *importing* them. But if any thing obſtructed, ſo that this did not prove ſufficient to engage them in the Proſecution of ſuch Deſigns; or that the Demand *ſtill* ran in favour of the Goods of *another* Nation; then,

Thirdly, THE Scale muſt be turned by the Addition of a BOUNTY upon Importation: And to quicken their *Diligence*, and excite a Spirit of *Emulation*, to theſe Encouragements may ſtill be added,

Fourthly, A PERSONAL PREMIUM to ſuch Merchants, as ſhall import the *moſt* of theſe Commodities, and the *beſt* in their Kind. *Prizes* of this Nature, are obſerved to do wonderful Things in the *Raiſing* and *Perfecting* of a Manufacture. We have ſeen their good Effects in *Ireland*; and it were greatly to be wiſhed we had the ſame laudable Inſtitution here in *England*. If certain Sums were veſted in the *Board of Trade* for this Purpoſe, we might not deſpair of ſeeing the Mother Country in a *few* Years ſupplied with *Pot-Aſhes*, *Bar-Iron*,* *Flax*, *Hemp*, *Indico*, *Cochineal*, *Coffee*,

* The great Clamour lately raiſed againſt the Introduction of Bar-Iron is an aſtoniſhing Inſtance of the Ignorance and Infatuation of the *Engliſh* in regard to their own Intereſt. For let us aſk even an IRON-MASTER, If the *Americans* ſhall not be permitted to import Iron Duty free, what Courſe will they, nay *muſt* they take, but

Coffee, *Cocoa Nut*, *Pitch and Tar*, *all Sorts of Naval Stores*, *and Raw Silk*, chiefly from her own Colonies. The Fact is undeniable, That ALL theſe Things *can* be raiſed in our Plantations either on the *Continent*, or in the *Iſlands*. And though ſome Difficulties would attend the Enterprize at firſt ſetting out, yet Induſtry and Application, together with the Inducements of *Bounties* and *perſonal Premiums*, would ſurmount them all. If *Prizes* were fixed, *viz.* So much to the *firſt*, the *ſecond*, and the *third* Importer of the *moſt* in Quantity, and *beſt* in Kind; and Notice given thereof in the Gazette by *Publick Authority*; What an *Emulation* would it excite amongſt all the Merchants of the Kingdom? How gladly would our Colonies *embrace* ſuch Propoſals, and *quit* the Purſuit of the Manufactures they are now engaged in? It is certain, theſe Manufactures, tho' *highly* detrimental to *us*, are not *ſo* advantageous to *them*, as the Raiſing the above mentioned Commodities *would be*; becauſe they could employ their *Negroes* in ſuch Work; whereas the Negroes are found to be not ſo

but to manufacture it themſelves? For how ſhall they be able to pay for *Engliſh* Goods, unleſs they can make proper Returns? And if you will not admit their Bar-Iron, you drive them to the *Neceſſity* of manufacturing it: Nay more, You give them a *Bounty:* For as the Bar-Iron will be cheaper in *America*, if there is no *Engliſh* Market; this Difference in the Price is in fact a Bounty given by yourſelves for the Encouragement of Iron-Manufactures in *America*.

proper to engage in a Manufacture, which has a *long* Courſe and *different* Parts before it is compleated; and the Labour of the white People is dear and expenſive.

As to the Article of *Raw Silk*, the Importance of it, I hope, will juſtify the recommending of the Culture of it in a very *particular* Manner. The *exceſſive* Price it now bears, and the great Difficulties to which the Manufacturers are driven, in order to get it at *any Rate*, require that ſomething ſhould be attempted without Delay. Every Nation now begins to perceive, That it is *imprudent* and *impolitick* to ſuffer ſuch *precious* Materials to be exported *unmanufactured* out of their Country. They have therefore prohibited the doing it under the ſevereſt Penalties :—And we cannot blame them. But for that very Reaſon we ought to endeavour to raiſe the Commodity ourſelves. And, with humble Submiſſion, no Time ever ſeemed ſo favourable for the doing it, as the preſent. For as the *Price* is *high*, this is not only an *Inducement* to ſet about it: but alſo as we have now a *different* Sort of Inhabitants in our Colonies to engage in it, than we had before, we have therefore the greater Proſpect of Succeſs. The Complaint formerly was, That the Cultivation of it would *not anſwer* on Account of the *Dearneſs* of Labour. The Inhabitants towards the *Sea-Coaſts* could employ their Time to greater Advantage in the Culture of *Tobacco*, *Rice*,

Rice, &c. therefore the Scheme for Raw Silk muſt fail. But at preſent we have ſeveral thouſands of *Palatines* and *Moravians*, ſettled in the Vallies between the Mountains, in a Country much like *Piemont*, where the beſt Silk grows: Now as they *cannot* cultivate Rice or Tobacco for *Exportation*; and as they are far removed from the Center of Trade, and are alſo a *parſimonious*, *abſtemious* People, they will certainly work much *cheaper* than the *Engliſh* heretofore towards the Sea-ſide, who were ever noted for the contrary Qualities. So that upon the Whole, the *Time* and the *Occaſion* invite; the *Neceſſities* of the Manufacture, and the *Intereſt* of our Country, require that ſome Attempt ſhould be ſpeedily made for the raiſing of *Raw Silk* in our Colonies.

IX. PROPOSAL.

To eſtabliſh a POLICE for the Prevention of Smuggling.

* "IT may indeed be too difficult for a "private Perſon to find out a Remedy equal "to a Diſeaſe ſo univerſal, and of ſo long a "Continuance: But yet as every well-meant "Endeavour for the publick Service is can-"didly accepted, when offered with Modeſty and

* This Quotation is taken out of my *Inquiry concerning the Uſe of low priced Spirituous Liquors*; printed for *T. Trye*, *Holborn*.

" and Submiſſion, it is to be hoped the fol-
" lowing Thoughts, which proceed no far-
" ther than by Way of *Query*, will be fa-
" vourably received.

" QUERY I. If the Privileges and Ex-
" emptions of the Iſlands of *Guernſey* and
" *Jerſey*, &c. were aboliſhed, and thoſe Re-
" mains of the Dukedom of *Normandy* per-
" fectly united to the *Britiſh* Crown, could
" the ſame Frauds be then practiſed, as to the
" Running of Goods which have a Draw-
" back granted them, Smuggling of *French*
" Wines, Brandies, Teas, Coffee, Chocolate,
" Silk, Lace, and all other Commodities, as
" are at preſent? — Could the *French* Wines
" be mixt with *Port*, and then entred as if
" they were all the Growth of *Portugal*, to
" the great Detriment of the Revenue, the
" manifeſt Injury of the *Portugal* Trade, the
" certain irreparable Loſs to the Nation, and
" the open avowed Encouragement to PER-
" JURY? — Could the Smacks and Cruiſers,
" which were deſigned to guard the Coaſt,
" have the ſame Pretence to enter the Ports
" of *France*, which they have now to ſtep
" into *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, viz. to ſee what
" Veſſels were lading; and *ſometimes* take in
" a Lading for themſelves? — *Et quis Cuſtodes*
" *cuſtodiat ipſos?*

" QUERY II. If the Juriſdiction of the
" *Iſle of Man* was annexed to the Crown,
" in the ſame Manner as the Hereditable Ju-
riſdictions

" riſdictions in *Scotland* lately were, could " *France*, *Holland*, *Denmark*, &c. find any " Place in *our own* Seas, as a *Storehouſe* or " *Magazine* for depoſiting their ſeveral Con- " traband Goods, in order to run them on the " Coaſts of *England*, *Wales*, *Scotland*, and " *Ireland?* If the Collectors of the Cuſtoms " of the preſent noble Proprietor of this " Iſland, were obliged to lay before the Par- " liament their Books of Entries for the laſt " ſeven Years, and ſuch Entries compared " with the Accounts that might be tranſmit- " ed from *France*, *Holland*, *Denmark*, &c. " would it not appear, that the reſpective *In-* " *dia* Companies of thoſe Countries had im- " ported vaſt Quantities of Teas, and other " *India* Goods, PRINCIPALLY with a View " to ſmuggle them into *Great Britain* and " *Ireland?* And ought not that Circumſtance " alone be an alarming Conſideration to the " *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company, to the Go- " vernment, and the whole *Britiſh* Nation? " — Do the *French*, *Dutch*, *Danes*, &c. " permit the *Engliſh* to uſe any Port of their " Dominions for the like Purpoſes? And " would it not be more advantageous to the " *Britiſh* Nation, as *to the mere Article of* " *Profit and Loſs*, to pay Subſidies to theſe " Countries of 200,000 *l. per Annum*, than " to let Matters continue on the preſent Foot- " ing? Laſtly, With regard to our own Sub- " jects, if this Iſland were annexed to the " Crown,

" Crown, could the *corrupt* Part of the Com-
" manders of the Smacks and Cruiſers receive
" any Emolument for *conniving* at the Evils
" here complained of? Or the *honeſt* Part be
" inſulted, and even impriſoned by the De-
" puty Governors or their Agents, for diſ-
" charging faithfully their Duty? And would
" the neceſſary Expences for the Prevention
" of Smuggling be a *fourth part* the Sum, to
" which they now amount?

" QUERY III. Whether the preſent Me-
" thods of collecting the Duties on *French*
" Brandies, and other foreign Goods, are not
" found to be *eventually* productive of great
" Temptations to ſmuggle them? Whether
" ſuch Temptations could poſſibly be ſo
" ſtrong, if there was a *Permiſſion* ſome-
" what of a like Nature granted to the Im-
" porters of theſe Commodities, as there is
" now granted to the Importers of Rum, *viz.*
" *To put them in the King's Warehouſe, pay-*
" *ing the Duties only for the Quantities they*
" *take out, when they meet with a Purchaſer,*
" *and leaving the reſt to continue?* Whether
" a Smuggler with one hundred Pounds
" Stock, would run the Riſque of his Life
" and Fortune, which the preſent Laws ſub-
" ject him to, if he could commence a fair
" Trader, to ſufficient Advantage, with ſo
" ſmall a Capital? And whether, in Caſe of
" ſuch a Permiſſion, a Man would not carry
" on a more extenſive Trade with one hun-

" dred

" dred Pounds, in certain Sorts of Goods,
" than he can do now with ſix times the
" Sum?

" ☞ WHETHER the great Frauds, lately
" complained of in the Tobacco Trade, to
" the prodigious Detriment of the Revenue,
" and the National Intereſt, cannot likewiſe
" be accounted for, upon the Principle here
" ſuggeſted? And if the Importers of To-
" bacco were allowed to lodge their Cargoes in
" the King's Warehouſe (or in their own, un-
" der the Lock and Key of the *Cuſtom-houſe*
" Officer) and from thence to take it away
" in ſmall Quantities, *viz.* a Hogſhead or
" two at a Time, ſuitable to their Conve-
" nience, Would not this Circumſtance alone
" cauſe the *Virginia* Trade to flouriſh, pre-
" vent Smuggling, and ſuperſede the Neceſ-
" ſity of all other Devices?

" QUERY IV. If all Seizures were abſo-
" lutely prohibited to be ſold for home Con-
" ſumption, could they then *cover* the Vend-
" ing any conſiderable Parcels of *un-cuſtomed*
" Goods, which are now vended in large
" Quantities by this Means? — And if the
" Seizures were *not* to be uſed at home,
" would the Purchaſers give an *higher Price*
" for ſuch Goods, than they do for others of
" like intrinſick Value? And is not the *ad-*
" *vanced* Price now given, a plain Indication
" of the Uſes to which they are applied?

" QUERY V. If the Commanders and Offi-

" cers

" cers of the Smacks and Cruiſers were to be " paid only one half of their Salaries of *Courſe*, " and the other half by Way of *Gratuity*, " when it appeared that they had been vigi- " lant and active to an *high Degree*, would " not this quicken their Motions, and add " new Life and Vigour to their Endeavours? " —If thoſe who could give no Proof of an " *Extraordinary* Vigilance were to loſe ſuch " Gratuities, and others to receive them, as an " *additional* Reward, who had diſtinguiſhed " themſelves the moſt eminently, Would not " this be a Means of raiſing a Spirit of Emu- " lation among them, and making the *ac-* " *tive* Principles of Intereſt, Shame, Fear, " Honour, Diſgrace, all unite and operate for " the publick Good.

" QUERY VI. If a few independent Com- " panies of Light Horſe were raiſed, in the " Nature of *Huſſars*, would not ſuch kind of " Cavalry, (viz. *Engliſh Hunters*) be much " more proper to ſcour the Coaſt, and pur- " ſue Smugglers, than heavy Horſe and Dra- " goons, and regular Forces? —And if their " Officers were paid in the ſame Manner, as " is propoſed for the Officers of Smacks and " Cruiſers, would it not be an additional Se- " curity for their Integrity, and an Incentive " to their Vigilance?

" QUERY VII. If the *whole* Seizures were " given to the Captors, would it not be a " greater Encouragement than giving them a " Part?

" Part? And if the Fees and Expences of the " Court of *Exchequer* for Condemnation did " not riſe ſo high, would not this enhance " the Value of the Prize, and conſequently " make the Captors more active and vigilant? " Whether there have not been Inſtances of " Cuſtom-houſe Officers *compounding* with the " Delinquents for *petty* Seizures, rather than " be at the Expence of condemning them in " the *Exchequer*, as that would ſwallow up " the Profit?

" THESE Queries the Author would hum- " bly offer to publick Conſideration; not " doubting but many other Methods might " be found out, greatly conducive to the ſame " good End. As to the Difficulties againſt " putting this Scheme in immediate Execu- " tion, He is not aware of any, but is far " from preſuming to determine that there " are none."

X. PROPOSAL.

TO *invite Foreigners of Diſtinction to travel among Us*, that ſo we may have ſomething in return for the vaſt Sums which we yearly ſend abroad. To this End there is wanting a conciſe Treatiſe in *French* and *Engliſh*, ſetting forth the Advantages which Perſons of different Taſtes and Inclinations may enjoy by ſuch a Tour: The Man of Pleaſure and Diverſion —The Virtuoſo —The Scholar and Man of Letters

Letters—The Lawyer—Phyſician—Divine—Merchant, *&c.* with Directions how to perform a regular Tour—a ſhorter or a longer—what Things are moſt remarkable to be ſeen: —Churches—Seats—Gardens—Pictures—Manufactures—Ports, *&c.*—what Books or Treatiſes are neceſſary to be conſulted—how to learn the Language——with the proper Stages marked out——and a Calculation of the Expence in the moderate Way of Travelling.

IT has been obſerved before, under the XIIth Advantage of *France*, Page 20. that Travelling into a Country is of greater Conſequence to the Trade and Manufactures of that Country, than is uſually apprehended. And as *England* is as deſerving the Notice of *curious* and *inquiſitive* Foreigners, as any Country on the Globe, it is a great Pity, that ſome ingenious Hand hath not yet lent them his friendly Aſſiſtance, by an expreſs Treatiſe on the Subject. It would be a great Pleaſure to the Author to contribute what he can, only as an *inferior Workman*, in the accompliſhing ſuch a Deſign. And therefore if he could *fungi vice Cotis*, as *Horace* expreſſes it, and be conſidered only as a *Whet-ſtone* to give an *Edge* to the Inclinations of others, who have *Abilities* to execute ſuch a Scheme, he would gladly offer his Aſſiſtance.

WITH theſe Sentiments therefore he begs Leave to propoſe the following *rough Sketch*,

Sketch, only as general Hints to be *improved* upon, *viz.*

SUPPOSE a modeſt Treatiſe was wrote, without Puffing, or too much extolling ourſelves, or our Country, containing a Plan for a Foreigner to travel in *England* a Year, or longer, with Pleaſure and Advantage:

CHAP. I. Setting forth the Situation of the Country, the Air and Climate, Nature of the Soil, and its general Productions.

CHAP. II. The preſent Inhabitants, Principles of their Government, their Virtues and Vices, Humours, Diverſions, the Manner of converſing agreeably with them, and accommodating one's ſelf to the general Taſte and Genius of the Country, Method of learning the Language — and Pronunciation — Method and Expence of Travelling — Manner of obtaining Recommendations from Abroad to *London*, and from *London* to the other Parts of the Kingdom.

CHAP. III. Containing the Plan for a Foreigner to make the Tour of *England* in eight Stages, within the Compaſs of a Year, each Stage illuſtrated by a *Map*, containing *les Environs*, or the Diſtrict of ten Miles round the Place of Reſidence; in which Diſtrict the principal Seats — Towns — Manufactures — Curioſities, *&c.* ſhould be briefly deſcribed: *viz.* Suppoſing the Stranger landed the Beginning of *April*; then the

1*ſt* Stage, *London* and *les Environs*, in the Month of *April*.

N. B. It might be improper a Foreigner ſhould ſtay longer in the Capital, upon firſt coming over, than to ſettle his Correſpondences, and get Recommendations to other Places; leſt, whilſt he is a *Stranger* to the *Language*, he ſhould aſſociate too much with his own Countrymen, and be little benefited by his Travelling.

2*d* Stage, *Cambridge* and *les Environs*, in *May*. Here he ſhould begin in earneſt to learn the Language by the Help of ſome good Grammar, and to learn the Pronunciation by coming to Church with his *French* and *Engliſh* Common Prayer, and liſtening to the Clergyman's ſlow and deliberate Reading. If this Method was duly practiſed, Foreigners would not find that Difficulty in learning the Pronunciation of our Language, as they are apt to imagine. And this is an Advantage of teaching it, in ſome Reſpect peculiar to Us.

3*d* Stage, *Oxford* and *les Environs*, in *June*. Note, In laying out the Route between Place and Place, it would be proper to contrive it ſo, as the Traveller might ſee as many Things worthy of Notice in his Paſſage, as he could.

4*th* Stage, *Birmingham* and *les Environs*, in *July*.

5*th* Stage, *Briſtol* and *les Environs*, in *Auguſt*.

6*th* Stage, A Tour from *Briſtol* to *Portſmouth*, through *Wilton*, *Saliſbury*, &c. and then return to *Bath* at the End of *September*.

7*th*

7*th* Stage, *Bath* and *les Environs*, during *October* and *November*.

8*th* Stage, *London*, during the Months of *December*, *January*, *February* and *March*, which complete the Year.

IF after this the Foreigner chooſes to reſide longer in *England*, and to ſee other Parts of the Kingdom, then he might take a Tour of Six Months in the following manner; *viz.*

1. *York*, and *les Environs*, in the Month of *April*.
2. *Leeds* and *Mancheſter*, in *May*.
3. *Liverpoole* and *Cheſter*, in *June*.
4. *Chatſworth* and *Derby*, in *July*.
5. *Nottingham* and *Northampton*, in *Auguſt*.
6. From thence through *London* to the Place of Embarkation, in *September*; viſiting the principal Seats, Towns, *&c.* of *Kent* or *Eſſex*, in the Way to *Dover* or *Harwich*.

CHAP. IV. Containing Obſervations on the Literature and Learning of the *Engliſh*; and the Advantages which Perſons of different Taſtes may reap from being acquainted with them. — Concluding with a ſmall Catalogue of the *choiceſt* Authors in polite Literature, and the ſeveral Sciences;——with a Liſt of our beſt Plays, as to *Morals*, *Language*, and *Deſign*; that ſo a Foreigner may know, WHEN it ſhall be worth his while to go to our Theatres.

XI. PROPOSAL.

TO *cut ſome Canals between our great Towns of Trade, for the Conveniency and Cheapneſs of Carriage.* —— Canals are much preferable to the making Rivers navigable, even where both might be done. For in the firſt Place, the *Expence* is not greater, except perhaps the Purchaſe of the Ground. In the next Place, they are kept and repaired at a much eaſier Rate. They are not ſubject to Inundations, or the Shifting of the Sand and Gravel, and are generally much *ſhorter* and *ſtreighter*. —— But what is above every other Conſideration, A Boat laden with Merchandize in a Canal, may be drawn by a *ſingle* Horſe, on a full *Trot*, as in *Holland*, *up* or *down* the Stream, whether there be a *Flood*, or *not*; and requires but *two* Men to guide it.

IF a Canal was dug between *Reading* and *Bath*, then there would be an eaſy and cheap Communication between the two principal Cities of the Kingdom, *London* and *Briſtol*: Goods and Paſſengers might be carried at *one quarter* of the preſent Expence: And ſurely 75 *l. per Cent.* ſaved in *Freight*, deſerves Conſideration. The River *Kennet*, from *Reading* to *Silbury-Hill*, is a plain Illuſtration how practicable *ſo far* ſuch a Scheme might be. And from thence to the Deſcent towards *Caln*, on the *Bath* Side, is the only Difficulty. But ſuch

ſuch who have ſeen the great Canal of *Languedoc*, are very well aſſured it might eaſily be performed, and at a fortieth Part of the Expence which the other was. Nay, on the flat Grounds near *Yateſbury* Church, Water is ſo plenty in the Winter time, that it lies upon the Surface for Weeks together. And as there are riſing Grounds on both Sides, Reſervoirs might be made to receive the Land-Floods, and ſupply the Canal with Water, during the dry Seaſon. But if the Canal itſelf was only ſunk ten or twelve Feet *deeper than ordinary*, for two or three Furlongs, it is very probable, that natural Springs would be met with between thoſe Hills. For the Wells at *Yateſbury*, as I remember, are not twenty feet deep. What a Pity is it therefore, That ſo many Advantages are *neglected?* If the like Situation had been in *France*, a Canal had been made long ago.——Indeed ſomething might have been alledged in our Excuſe, had we the ſame Difficulties to encounter with, which the *French* ſurmounted in making the Canal of *Languedoc*, and are again to ſurmount in making the new Canal, from the *Durance* to *Marſeilles*. But there are no Obſtructions of Rivers and Rivulets in our Way; no need of making Arches, and Troughs of Stone to carry the Canal over them;—no ſteep Hills to aſcend, or Mountains to pierce through: And yet the Thing is not ſo much as attempted, though the common Intereſt, and the Si-

tuation of the Country, ſo ſtrongly invite us to perform it.

A CANAL alſo ought to be dug between *Glaſcow* and the Shoar oppoſite to *Alloway*; which would open a Communication between *Glaſcow*, and *Leith* the Port of *Edinburgh*.—The Situation in theſe Parts is extremely inviting, even more ſo than the former; as the Paſſage is much ſhorter. And our Soldiers in Times of Peace might be employed in the publick Works, alternately with performing their Exerciſe, receiving a ſuitable Addition to their Pay, when they are at work.

XII. PROPOSAL.

TO *raiſe a Fiſhery on the Northern Coaſt of* Scotland, by giving a DOUBLE PREMIUM for ſome Years, till the Trade is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, for all Herrings caught and cured by Perſons *reſiding* within certain Diſtricts, and *exported* to *foreign* Markets.

SEVERAL other Schemes have been lately offered to the Publick in relation to this Matter; and all of them, undoubtedly, good in *ſome* Reſpects. Every Thing of this Nature hath its reſpective Convenience and Inconvenience. And if the Scheme for carrying on the Fiſheries by means of a *Joint Stock*, and a *Company*, impower'd to make *By-Laws*, and preſcribe *Rules* and *Regulations*, can ſtand clear of the imminent Hazard of degenerating into

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a JOBB, through the corrupt Influence and ſiniſter Views of the *Managers* and *Directors* of ſuch a Company; — I ſay, If the Scheme is freed from all reaſonable Suſpicion of tending to ſuch a Point, I ſhould much rather prefer it to that which is here, with great Submiſſion, offered in its ſtead. It is certain, that a Joint Stock is a *quicker* and more *expeditious* Way; — but the Encouragement of a *double Bounty* appears to me more *ſure*, and *leſs liable* to be corrupted. For in this latter Caſe, there are no Sums advanced till the Work is done, and the Herrings publickly examined, whether they are marketable or not: There is no *fingering* of the Money in the mean Time by *Managers* and *Directors*; nor can there be any *Items* of *Expences* and *Diſburſements*, *Fees* and *Salaries*, brought to Account: Things which are the *Bane* of all publick Societies, and the great Cauſe of their Corruption, and degenerating from their original Inſtitution.

BESIDES, if a *double Bounty*, or perhaps *Five Shillings per* Barrel, were given for all Herrings ſo *cured* and *exported*, it ſeems to me, That the *Dutch* themſelves would be tempted by the *Lucre* of ſuch a *Bounty*, to ſettle on the Northern Coaſts of *Scotland*, and make one People with the Inhabitants of the Country; — which would be the greateſt Advantage that Part of the Kingdom could poſſibly receive.

XIII. PROPOSAL.

To *eſtabliſh Civil Governments at* Gibraltar *and* Port-Mahone, *and make them Free Ports.* —The Situation of *Gibraltar* is extremely commodious for vending ſeveral Sorts of Commodities in *Spain* and *Barbary:* And the Iſland of *Minorca* is not leſs happily ſituated for carrying on an advantageous Commerce with ſome Parts of *France* and *Italy*, and, by means of the neighbouring Iſland of *Majorca*, with *Spain* alſo. Several Sorts of coarſe Woollen Stuffs, and *Mancheſter* Goods, would be acceptable in *Barbary*, provided they could be had reaſonably cheap: Which can never be, till there is a *free Port.* Several Sorts of the Manufactures of *Mancheſter* and *Spittle-Fields*, would be very agreeable to the Taſte of the *Spaniards*, *French*, and *Italians.* But above all, our *Birmingham* Ware, our Cutlery, Razors and Sciſſars, Watches and Chains, Locks, Metal Buttons, Snuff Boxes, Toys, and all the Sorts of *Bijoux d'Angleterre*, as the *French* call them, which they are inexpreſſibly fond of, would find a prodigious Vent in all theſe Countries. The leaſt Amount of the whole Trade, that might be carried on by means of theſe two Ports, were they made *free*, would be 100,000 *l.* a Year. And ſurely ſuch a Sum is worth the *Getting*;—eſpecially by a Nation 80,000,000 *l.* in *Debt.*

IF a Scheme of this kind was to take Place in the Iſland of *Minorca*, it would then alſo ſtand a fair Chance of being peopled by *Engliſh* Families, or by ſuch as are *well-affected* to the *Engliſh* Government. Whereas at preſent there are ſcarce any, except the Garriſon, but *bigoted Spaniards*, who at the firſt taking of the Place, would have been glad to have parted with their Poſſeſſions for a Trifle, and to have retired into *Spain*. But now they are got immenſely rich; their Lands are ſaid to be more than *five Times* their former Value; and yet their *Bigotry* and *Averſion* continue as ſtrong as ever.

XIV. PROPOSAL.

TO have *publick Inſpectors* into all our Manufactures; and to oblige *all Exporters* to deliver in *Samples* of the Commodities they intend to export, in order that they may be *compared together*, before the Goods are ſuffered to be put on *Ship-board*. This, if faithfully and honeſtly executed, would always keep up the Credit of our Manufactures at home and abroad, on which the Spirit and Life of Trade principally depends. All poſſible means ſhould be taken to prevent private Frauds in packing—Deficiencies in Weight and Meaſure—undue ſtretching of Cloths upon the Rack, which alone hath occaſioned *irreparable* Loſs to this Nation. The Fraudulent and Deceitful

Deceitful ſhould be prevented, as *much* as it is *poſſible*, from getting Rich at the Expence of their honeſt Neighbours, and the Welfare of their Country, which is too often *ſacrificed* to their Knavery.

IN ſhort, In all Kinds of Manufactures, the worſt Part of it ſhould be put *outermoſt* for a *Sample*, not the Beſt; that ſo the Buyer, in ſeeing the *Mark* and *Seal* of the *Office*, may *confide* in *that*, and be aſſured, that he is *not deceived* by what is *out* of *Sight*.

XV. PROPOSAL.

TO *alter the Method of collecting our Duties upon particular Sorts of Goods imported*, viz.* By lodging them in Warehouſes erected at the publick Expence, till the Importer fetches them away, according as he wants them, and pays the Duty, or cauſes it to be paid by the Perſon who purchaſes of him. This Scheme, I am ſenſible, would raiſe a great Clamour, if enforced by any *compulſive* Law; but if left to each Perſon's *free Choice*, there is the higheſt Probability, that it would univerſally obtain. Suppoſe therefore, That the Laws relating to the Cuſtoms in general ſhould continue as they are; but that *Permiſſion* ſhould be granted to ſuch Perſons as are *deſir-*

* Something hath been already ſaid on this Subject, Page 108. QUERY III. Where a Police was propoſed to prevent Smuggling: But as Truth is uniform throughout, and is attended with all poſſible Advantages, the Propoſal is now conſidered under another View.

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ous of using it, to land their Goods in the *publick* Magazines, there to remain at the usual moderate Rent for Cellarage, till such Time as they find it their Interest to remove them, and then to pay the Duty. If such a Permission was granted to the Importers of *Sugars*, *Rum*, *Wines*, *Brandies*, *Tobacco*, *Raisins*, *Prunes*, and *Currants*, it is easy to foresee, That almost every one concerned would embrace it. For, in the first Place, the * Expence of Warehouse-Room would be just the same; but the Difference between paying the Duty *all at once* upon Importation, and paying it *by Degrees*, would be very great, and much to the Advantage both of the Importer, and the Publick. The Importer would be a Gainer, as he would not be streightned for Money to pay the Duties every time his Ship arrives; and might keep his Goods till he saw a promising Market, or might export them to some Foreign Country, if they bore there a better Price. And this itself would be a great Advantage to the Publick, as it would render *our* Country a kind of common Magazine for *others*, and as we should get by it all the Profits of Freight and Commission: And Persons of *Intelligence* and *Speculation* would then engage in the Speculative Part of Trade; That is, They would buy up all Commodities that were cheap in Foreign Countries, lodge them in

* If no Publick Magazines were erected, the Merchant might put the Goods in his own Ware-house, having one Key himself, and the King's Officer another.

in their own, or the King's Warehouſes, and then re-export them to thoſe Countries where the Demand ran higheſt. But this cannot be done upon the preſent Syſtem of paying Duties. Moreover, the Publick would be more eſpecially benefited, as the Trade would be increaſed, and the Goods afforded much the cheaper. — When a Trade can be carried on with a *ſmall* Stock, the more Perſons are capable of embarking in it: And when the Duties are not paid all at once, but by Degrees, as the Goods can be ſold, the *Home-Conſumer* will buy ſo much the cheaper. For he will only pay the King's ſimple Duty, — the Expences of the Adventure, —and the Merchant's ſingle Gains upon that Adventure: Whereas, according to the preſent Way of collecting the Revenue, every Conſumer pays *another* conſiderable Article, viz. *The Gains of the Merchant on the Sums advanced to pay the King's Duty.* And if the Goods have paſſed from the Merchant *Importer* to the laſt *Retailer*, through two or three Hands, before they come to the Conſumer, then He pays *two* or *three* Advances the more. * So that in fact, He not only pays the *firſt* Duty to the King, but perhaps twice as much again to others, by Means of theſe *Advances* upon *Advances*.

* See this Affair ſet in a *true* and *ſtrong* Light in a Treatiſe entitled, *An Eſſay on the Cauſes of the Decline of the Foreign Trade, London*, 1744. Printed for *J. Brotherton*. Pages 16, and 17.

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The Consequence of all which is, That Trade becomes monopolized by a few Rich Persons, because there is a greater Stock required to carry it on: And *Smugglers* will be the *more numerous*, and the more audacious, because the *Temptations* to, and the *Gains* of *Smuggling*, become so much the greater. Whereas by the Method now proposed, both these Mischiefs would be prevented to a great Degree. ☞ Observe, 1*st*, The Proposal here made, *compels* no Persons to submit to these Regulations, but only *permits* them to make use of them, if they are *disposed* to do it. ☞ Observe, 2*dly*, That this Scheme requires no *new Officers*, even at the Commencement of it: And when it has been thoroughly tried and known, it would certainly greatly *lessen the Number* of them. A Set of Publick Magazines (which, by the By, might be so contrived, as to be *ornamental*, as well as *useful)* built uniformly, and in a Quadrangular Figure, might easily be taken Care of and inspected by a very few Officers, who might well be spared from the Numbers now employed as *Land-Waiters*, *Tide-Waiters*, *Searchers*, *Deputies*, *Extraordinary Men*, &c. &c.— ☞ Observe, 3*dly*, That with respect to any *Embezzlement*, which these Magazine-keepers might be suspected of, this might be prevented, as much as any thing of such a Nature can possibly be (not only by Weighing the Goods, Gauging them, and taking Samples

ples before they are delivered into the Officers Care) but alſo by making it neceſſary, That theſe Officers ſhould be engaged with two ſufficient Bondſmen in two Sorts of Securities, *one* to the King, to enforce their Fidelity to him, and *another* to the Mayor or chief Magiſtrate of the Town, and his Succeſſors, where the Magazine is kept, in Truſt for the Merchants, to enſure their Honeſty to them: And that when any of theſe Officers are ſuſpected of Embezzling the Merchants Property, the Party aggrieved may be at Liberty to bring an Action in the Name of the Mayor, or chief Magiſtrate for the Time being, and recover *treble* Damages, with Coſts of Suit, on Proof of ſuch Embezzlement. Now in *all* theſe Reſpects the *preſent* Propoſal differs entirely from the *late famous Exciſe Scheme*; and *every* Objection made againſt *that*, is obviated *here*.

As this laſt Propoſal, and one or two more, would be attended with ſome Expence, were they carried into Execution;——And as the Nation, in its preſent Circumſtances, might be ſuppoſed incapable of bearing a farther Load; I ſhall therefore endeavour to point out a Method how certain Taxes might be raiſed, without *burdening* any of the *Neceſſaries* of Life,——and yet *ſufficient* to anſwer *all* theſe Expences,——and be moreover highly conducive to the Reformation of the Morals of the People,

People, and the general Welfare of the Kingdom, *Viz.*

XVI. PROPOSAL.

To lay certain Taxes on the following Articles of *Luxury*, *Vice*, or *Extravagance*; which Taxes ſhall be applied to the general Improvement of Commerce; by maintaining Conſuls, and erecting Forts, according to Propoſal VI. Building of Magazines and Warehouſes, as ſpecified in Propoſal XV. Giving Bounties and Perſonal Premiums to the *greateſt Exporters* of our *own* Manufactures,——the like to the *greateſt Importers* of *Raw Materials* from *Foreign* Countries,——eſpecially from our *own Plantations*, according to Propoſal VIII.—— And in ſhort, by purſuing all ſuch Ways and Means, as ſerve to *excite* the Merchant and Manufacturer to promote the Intereſt of their Country, and their own together. Wherefore, the

1*ſt* TAX propoſed is, That upon *Batchelors*, and *Widowers*, of a certain Age, without Children.

THE manifold ill Conſequences that flow from the *modiſh* Practice of Mens living Batchelors, are too glaring and evident. For we may venture to pronounce, without any Degree of Uncharitableneſs, That it is *one* great Cauſe of all the Lewdneſs and Debauchery of this Age. Some *few* indeed undoubtedly there are

are, who no ways contribute to these Immoralities by their single Life. But they are too inconsiderable in Number to deserve to have particular Exemptions, even were it possible to *distinguish* them from others, which it is not possible to do in a *legal* Way. In all Things calculated for the *general* Good, some *Individuals* must suffer; and it cannot be avoided. Now (to consider this Matter merely in a *commercial* Light) as there are at least Ninety-nine in an Hundred, who gratify their Desires, but *so as to add* no *proper* Increase to the *publick* Stock of Inhabitants, in which the *Riches* and *Strength* of a Nation do consist, one may easily judge of the Evil of such a Practice, by its bad Consequences. And in *London* particularly, where this Vice of living Batchelors *mostly prevails*, there it is observable, by the *Bills of* * *Mortality*, that *more* Persons *die* than are *born*, every Year. So that were it not for the continual Supplies from

* To this Paragraph it has been objected, that the yearly Bills of Mortality, which make the Burials more than the Births, are not to be *relied* upon, as to this Point: "Because there are no Births registred, but the "Births of those who are baptized according to the Form "of the *established* Church; whereas *Dissenters* of most "Denominations are *buried* in the Church, and consequently *registred* there."

Now as it is a very material Article to know, with some Degree of *Certainty*, Whether more Persons *die* in *London*, than are *born*;—and consequently, Whether the whole City would not be *depopulated* in a Century or two,

from the Country, where the Marriage State is not yet quite ſo *unfaſhionable*, that great Metropolis would be *depopulated* in a Courſe of Years. And yet there is no Place, in which there are ſo great Numbers of the Female Sex, in the Proportion, as in *London*. Can it be credited, though perhaps it is too true, That in

two, if the Inhabitants followed the *ſame Courſes* they *now* do, were it not for the INFLUX of *Strangers*, to ſupply theſe *Deficiencies*; I ſhall therefore beg Leave to offer the following Conſiderations, in Reply to the above Objection.

I. SOME Children are *begot* in the Country, yet *born* in *London*; ſuch, for Inſtance, whoſe Mothers come up to Town for the Convenience of *skilful* Attendance: And as this is the Caſe with *many* Families of Diſtinction, conſequently, the *Number* of *Births* is ſo much *increaſed*.

II. MANY Perſons contract their *Death-Sickneſs* in *London*, yet are carried out of it for the Benefit of the Air, and *die* in the Country; there they are *buried*, and *no Notice* taken of them in the *Regiſters* within the Bills of Mortality.

III. JUST the ſame is the Caſe of thoſe, who *die* in *London*, yet are *carried* to their *Burial-Places* in the Country: The Number of theſe is conſiderable in the Year; whereas there are few Inſtances of Perſons being carried out of the Country, to be interred in *London*.

IV. MANY Diſſenters of different Denominations have *Burial-Places* of *their own*; and conſequently, the Numbers of their Dead do not *ſwell* the Regiſters of the eſtabliſhed Church *ſo much* as might be imagined.

BUT allowing, That the Numbers of Diſſenters buried in the eſtabliſhed Church, may make *ſome* Difference in the Account, ſtill this Difference cannot amount to any thing *near* the Sum which is found to be the Difference between *Births* and *Burials* in the Compaſs of a

in this City alone there are upwards of *Ten Thouſand looſe Women*, from ſixteen Years old to forty, who have not *Fifty* Children in a Year? And the few they have, are *born* with all *ſorts* of *Diſorders*, and *educated*, if they chance to live, in all *kinds* of *Vice* and *Wickedneſs?* In ſhort, it has been often remarked, That the greateſt *Rakes*, that all *Europe* can produce, when they arrive in *England*, and come to *London*, are quite *ſhocked* and *ſcandalized* at the *unparalleled* Lewdneſs and Debauchery reigning among *Us*, ſo far beyond any Thing they could have imagined. Now if theſe 10,000 *looſe* Women had not been *debauched* and *corrupted*, and were married to Perſons of their own Rank and Condition, they might have had at leaſt *One Thouſand* healthy Children every Year; and theſe in a fair Way to be bred to *honeſt* Trades and Callings. Beſides, upon the preſent Footing, the

Year; *viz.* about SEVEN THOUSAND Souls. The Numbers of Births, generally ſpeaking, amount to 14, or 16000 in a Year; and the Burials from 21, to 24,000 in the ſame Time: A Difference of *three* to *two*. How ſoon would this depopulate any Country, were it not for foreign Supplies? And how terrible do the Effects of *Vice*, *Lewdneſs* and *Debauchery*, appear to the general Intereſts of a Kingdom, when ſeen from this Point of View? What an Abſurdity, therefore, was it in the Author of *The Fable of the Bees*, to ſay, *That Private Vices are Publick Benefits!* It is *Virtue* alone, which can make a Nation *flouriſh*. And Vice of every kind is, either *immediately*, or in its *Conſequences*, injurious to Commerce.

the *Injuſtice* done to the *married* Tradeſman, and Landed Gentleman, is moſt grievous and intolerable. * For *they* pay the Exciſe, and ſeveral other Duties, in Proportion to the Conſumption of their Families; but the *Batchelor* pays only for his *ſingle* Self; *i. e.* Thoſe who are *moſt beneficial* to the Publick, are *doubly*, *trebly* or *quadruply* taxed, *in Proportion as they are beneficial*; and others who are a *Nuſance* to it, are *therefore* exempted. Is there any Juſtice or Equity in this? I add, Men may underſtand theſe Things as *Patriots* and *Politicians*, who would turn a deaf Ear to Lectures in *Morality* and *Divinity*. Nay more, Such *Abounding of Lewdneſs*, and *Surfeiting of Proſtitution*, doth in Fact tend to *increaſe* the more *unnatural Vices*, inſtead of preventing them, as it is vulgarly, though erroneouſly, ſuppoſed. And the Hiſtory of *all* Nations, from the former Times down to the preſent, confirms this Aſſertion. Antient *Greece* and *Rome*, and modern *England*, to mention no more, have furniſhed *too many* Examples in proof of this Point. And Reaſon itſelf ſhould tell us, That it is with *this*, as with all other *depraved* Appetites, where *Surfeiting* and *Satiety* are Inducements to ſeek out *leſs natural* Ways of Gratification.

WHEREFORE the *Propoſal* here is, That all *Batchelors*, after they have attained to the Age of *Twenty five* Years, ſhall pay TREBLE

* *Cauſes of the Decline*, &c. p. 8, 9,—and 51.

King's Tax,—Poor Tax,—Window Tax,—and the Taxes upon Coaches, till they *marry:* And that all *Widowers*, between *Thirty* and *Fifty*, *if they have no Children*, ſhall pay DOUBLE. Thus the *greateſt*, *i. e.* the *wealthieſt* Offenders, are properly mulcted. For undoubtedly *they* have it in their Power to ſettle in the World, if they will. They are the People who ſet bad Examples; and by their Station, Riches, Intrigues, and Addreſs, debauch thoſe young Women at firſt, who afterwards become the *common Proſtitutes* of the Town. But as this only reaches the *wealthieſt* of them; and as there are *vaſt Numbers* of ſingle Men, whom this Scheme would not affect, therefore there ſhould be added to it a *general Capitation* Tax for *all Batchelors*, of whatſoever Degree, above Twenty five Years of Age. And if this was fixed at *Twenty Shillings* a Head *per Ann.* for all above the Condition of Day-Labourers, and at *Ten Shillings* for them (with an Exemption only for common Soldiers and Sailors) it would be a very juſt and equitable Law, and would certainly be attended with many good Conſequences, both as to the *Morals* and the *Commerce* of the Nation. The

2*d* TAX propoſed, is, That upon *menial* Men-Servants, *i. e.* ſuch who are *not* employed either for the Purpoſes of *Huſbandry* or *Commerce*, but for *State* and *Grandeur*.

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IT was the great Principle, which run through the whole Plan of *The Eſſay on the Cauſes of the Decline of Foreign Trade*, before quoted, That each Perſon ſhould tax himſelf according to the Figure and Station of Life he *choſe* to appear in; —But that all the *Neceſſaries* of Life ſhould be *Duty free*. Now in the Caſe before Us, Livery Servants, Footmen, Valets, Men Cooks, *&c. &c.* certainly *cannot* be ranked among the *Neceſſaries* of Life, and therefore are the *proper* Subjects for ſuch a Tax. If any one *chooſes* to have them, he himſelf chooſes to *appear* in an *elevated* Condition, and therefore is the *fitteſt* to *pay* towards *improving* the Commerce, and *extending* the general Intereſt of the Kingdom.

BUT that is not all: For theſe Men-Servants, generally ſpeaking, are by Nature *fitter* for *other* Employments, had they not taken up with this *idle* one; and might have been *uſeful* to their Country, by *Sea* or *Land*, either in the ſeveral Parts of *Huſbandry*, or in *laborious* Trades; whereas by their preſent way of Living they render themſelves *uſeleſs* in *all* Reſpects; and not only ſo, but keep Thouſands of the other Sex out of an *honeſt* Employment, which by *Nature* they are *fitteſt* for; and very often are *tempted* for the Want of it to take to *vicious* Courſes. I believe it will hardly be denied, but that Women Servants *might* perform all the Functions, which Men Servants do, in reſpect to *waiting* at

Table, *tending* the *Tea-kettle*, &c. and equally as well. They *might* walk behind their Ladies, and *carry* their Books to Church, as well as any Footman, and *why* they are not permitted to do it, is Matter of ſome *Aſtoniſhment* to a thinking Mind. In ſhort, the *poorer* and the *middling* Part of the Female Sex, are *deprived* of thoſe Employments which properly *belong* to them, very often to their own *utter Ruin*, and the *Detriment* of Society. If a young Woman has a *genteeliſh* Education, and a *ſmall* Fortune, ſhe ſtands upon the *Brink* of *Deſtruction*; and even if ſhe is deſirous, ſhe ſcarcely knows, *What Trade* to put herſelf to, in order to be out of the Way of *Temptation*. For, excepting two or three Trades, which Women ſtill retain, all the Reſt are *engroſſed* by *Men*. We have *Men-Mantua-makers*, *Men-Milliners*, *Men-Stay-makers*, *Men-Shoemakers for Womens Shoes*, *Men-Hair-Cutters for Womens Hair*, &c. and very likely in time we ſhall have *Sempſtreſſes*, *Laundreſſes*, and *Clear-Starchers*, of the ſame Sex.

SUCH Perverſions as theſe, of the Order of Society, are not of *ſmall* ill Conſequence, either to the Welfare of *Individuals*, or the Good of the *State*. And therefore to *diſcourage* ſuch Practices as *much* as may be, in the Affair of Men-Servants, The Propoſal is, That each of them ſhall be taxed *Two-Shillings and Six Pence* in the Pound, according to their Wages,

Wages, to be paid by their Maſters and Miſtreſſes, and to be collected by the Officers of the Window Tax. If a Scheme of this Nature were effectually put in Practice, the Conſequence would be, either, That Women-Servants would be employed, *rather* than Men, which would anſwer a good End in that Reſpect;—or elſe, that theſe Men-Servants, tho' idle and uſeleſs in themſelves, would contribute to the promoting of Commerce and extending our Trade, by means of the Tax they pay for this End;—though ſorely *againſt* their *Will.*

The 3*d* Tax propoſed, is, That upon Saddle-Horſes.

THE Tax upon Coaches, as far as it went, was an *excellent* and *publick-ſpirited* Act of the Legiſlature. It was laying the Burden, where it ought *always* to be laid, *viz.* upon the *Luxuries*, the *Ornaments* and *Refinements* of Living. But undoubtedly it was *defective* as to its *Extent:* Many Gentlemen of Fortune, eſpecially if they are ſingle, do not *chooſe* to keep Coaches; and others may live in ſuch Parts of the Country, where the Situation is not *convenient* for their ſo doing. Yet they all keep *Saddle* Horſes in abundance, — *Hunters*, —and perhaps *Racers*, — without paying any Tax; though theſe Things are Articles of mere Luxury, Parade and Pleaſure, as much as Coaches. Is there now any Equity or Juſtice in this? And are not ſuch Perſons the propereſt Subjects to pay towards the Sup-

port of our Manufactures, and extending our Commerce? Undoubtedly they are: And therefore the Propoſal is this, That all Owners of *Saddle Horſes*, young Horſes under *five Years* old excepted, be *taxed* at the Rate of *five Shillings* per Horſe *every* Year;—ſaving only *one Horſe*, which ſhall be admitted to be kept *free* of all *Tax* by each Owner, on the Suppoſition, That *Riding* may be *neceſſary* for his *Health*, or on the Account of *Buſineſs*. If *greater* Allowances than this were made, it would be opening a Door for *Fraud* and *Colluſion*: And if *leſs*, it might bear hard upon the *real* Wants and Neceſſities of many People. Perhaps even this Indulgence of one Horſe, *Tax-free*, to each Proprietor, might ſeem too rigorous a Reſtraint; and might actually be ſo in *certain* Circumſtances; but in all Caſes of *publick* Concern, it is impoſſible to adjuſt Things in ſuch a Manner, as that *every* Perſon can be *pleaſed*,—or even that the Intereſt of *every* Individual may be ſo *particularly* taken Care of, according to the Nature of his *peculiar* Circumſtances, as that he can have no juſt Reaſon to *complain*. To proceed therefore, the

4*th* Tax propoſed to be levied is on *Dogs* of *every* Sort and Kind, except *Shepherds* Dogs, and *Houſe* Dogs. For every thing beyond this, is moſt undoubtedly an Article of *Luxury*, and *Diverſion*; and as *ſuch*, juſtly liable to be Taxed.

WHEREFORE

WHEREFORE the Propoſal is, That the Owners of all Dogs ſhall pay *One Shilling* for each Dog every Year. And as there are ſuch prodigious Numbers of Hounds, Greyhounds, Pointers, Setters, Spaniels, Beagles, Lap-Dogs, and Turnſpits all over the Kingdom, this would bring in a very conſiderable Revenue, which might be employed to the greateſt National Advantage, in ſupporting and extending our Trade and Commerce. ——If this Tax ſhould cauſe a *Diminution* of the Species, there would be no *Harm* in *that*; nay, it would be attended with a great deal of *Good*; as for many *other* Reaſons, ſo particularly for this, That the *dreadful* and *ſhocking* Calamities attending the *Bite* of *Mad Dogs*, would be leſs frequent than they now are.——If any one ſhould object, That *Turn-ſpits* ought to be conſidered as *neceſſary Implements* for dreſſing of *Victuals*, and therefore ought to be excepted out of this Regulation. The Anſwer is obvious and eaſy; *viz.* That *Jacks* and *Smoke-Jacks* are preferable to *Turn-ſpits* in every Reſpect:—— They are cheaper, all Things conſidered; and a Species of Manufacture, which ought to be encouraged. But above all, there is no Danger from them of thoſe ſhocking Conſequences aforementioned, which every Year have occaſioned the Deaths of many People, in the moſt dreadful manner.

ADD to this, That no other Method, than what is here propoſed, can be effectual for the Pre-

Preſervation of the Game. For as long as Poachers of all kinds are allowed to keep Dogs, free of any Tax, it will be impoſſible for Penal Laws, in ſuch a Conſtitution as *England* is under, to prevent their uſing them to the Deſtruction of the Game. But the laying a Tax upon Dogs ſtrikes at the principal Root of the Evil complained of.

THE *5th* Tax propoſed, is a *double* Turnpike Tax on all Perſons who *travel* on *Sundays*. A *modiſh* and a *reigning* Vice this! which ought to receive ſome *Check* and *Diſcountenance* from the Legiſlature. Not once in a thouſand times can there be a juſt and reaſonable Excuſe for this Practice; and therefore it becomes a proper and fit Subject for a Tax, according to the Principles before laid down.

IN ſhort, We ſubmit it with great Deference to the Judgment of the intelligent Reader, Whether there is not ample Proviſion made in this Propoſal, for all the Expences which might be incurred by the Execution of any of the Reſt;—and that without burdening *any one* Article of the *real* Neceſſaries of Life. Were the Taxes to be laid, as here recommended, they would indeed very probably cauſe a *conſiderable* Diminution of the Articles which were to pay theſe Taxes: But even that Circumſtance would prove, in many Reſpects, a very great National Advantage.—And were the Monies raiſed by theſe Taxes,

properly,

properly, judiciouſly, and faithfully applied to the good Uſes and Purpoſes before mentioned, perhaps there would not be a Nation in the World, which could vie with us in Number of Inhabitants, Extent of Commerce, and the flouriſhing State of our Colonies and Factories in both the *Indies*.

TAXES, in their own Nature, if they are properly and judiciouſly laid on, are ſo far from cauſing Commerce to ſtagnate, that they quicken and enliven it: And therefore may be compared to the *Pruning* of a Tree by a *Skilful* Hand, by which means the Tree is preſerved in Health, and laſts the longer. The Fruit (upon the whole) is more in Quantity and better in Quality, and a vigorous Circulation, and equal Nouriſhment are maintained throughout. Whereas, on the other Hand, one ſingle Tax, though ſmall in its Amount, if injudiciouſly laid on, ſo as to ſtop the Progreſs or Circulation of Labour, is in fact the *heavieſt* and moſt *inſupportable* of all others. This is a Doctrine little underſtood, eſpecially by the *Landed* Intereſt, who of all Perſons ought to ſtudy it the moſt, as it never can be their Intereſt to act upon a contrary Principle.

CON-

CONCLUSION.

AND thus have I ventured to give my Sentiments, with that *Freedom* and *Unreſervedneſs*, which is natural to Men who mean well, and whoſe *ſole Aim* is the Good and Proſperity of their Country.—As I have no *private Ends* of my own to ſerve, either the one Way or the other, I have had no Biaſs of Self-Intereſt upon my Mind.

IT is true, I confeſs, that *many* of the PROPOSALS here made, are Subjects very *unpopular* in the preſent Times: Neither would I willingly have advanced any thing *harſh* or *diſagreeable*, even to *prejudiced* Minds, *were it poſſible* to have made *Truth* and *Popularity*, in this Caſe, conſiſt together. But ſince that cannot be, what muſt be done? Muſt we ſtill go on, increaſing in our *Diſorders*, and beholding our *Rivals* taking their Advantage of theſe Misfortunes, merely becauſe ſome People do not *chooſe* to be told WHERE the *Core* of the Evil lies, and HOW it may be *taken out?* If the Alterations here

here propoſed, are *neceſſary* or *advantageous* to the Publick, *that* alone ſhould be *ſufficient* to recommend them to the Eſteem of *all* Perſons of *Worth* and *Character*; But if they are not, I put in no Plea or Apology for them:-- Only I will add, on behalf of the Author, that his *Intentions* were *good*, though He was miſtaken.

I AM alſo well aware, That there is a cuſtomary Prepoſſeſſion entertained againſt Projects of all Kinds; And that Projectors are looked upon as a Race of Beings who have ſomething very ſingular and whimſical in their Compoſition. And yet I think it muſt be allowed, That, notwithſtanding all the Prejudice which ſome chimerical Gentlemen of this Stamp have drawn upon themſelves, there muſt be both *Projects* and *Projectors*, when Things are *bad*, and want *mending*; otherwiſe they never could be *better*, nor the Faults *corrected*.

WITH Reſpect to the Caſe before us, there are two *general Objections*, as far as I am able to perceive, which may be made againſt what has been advanced.

THE *firſt* is, That many of the *Propoſals*, though they may be *right* in *Theory*, are *impracticable* in *Fact*.

THE *ſecond* is, That the Schemes here laid down, are attended with their Inconveniencies as well as others.

To

To the FIRST of these I reply; That no one can be *certain* of this, till an Attempt has been made to put them in Practice: And we may be very sure, Every one of them might be easily put in Execution, were Persons as really animated with the Love of their Country, and as truly concerned for its Welfare and Prosperity, as they *pretend* to be; And had some among us, in *their Opposition* to every Measure of the Government, no *dark*, *latent* Scheme at Heart, which they *cover* over with *specious* Names.

BESIDES, None of these Schemes, no, not all of them together, are so difficult in themselves to be carried into Execution, as that *single* one which has been so happily *perfected* in our own Days, the UNION with *Scotland*.——In that Case, inveterate *National* Prejudices,—*National* Pride,—*Family*-Interest,—*Self*-Interest,—*Jacobitical* Interest,--*Pretences* of *Conscience*,—— *Fears* of *Religion*, and the respective *Churches* of *both* Kingdoms:—— All these conspired to heap up Difficulties in the Way. And yet all were surmounted by the Firmness and Address of those *true* Patriots of both Kingdoms, to their immortal Honour, who had the Management of that Affair. Whereas in the present Case, there can be no *Pretences* of *Conscience*, no *Fears* of the *Church*'s being in *Danger*, to encounter with: There are no *National* Animosities, or *National* Pride, or the *Interest* of great Families,

milies, to obſtruct us; And very little of *Party Spirit* can mingle in any of theſe Affairs: *Self-Intereſt* is the chief Obſtacle to be ſurmounted. This is indeed a great one, which will draw every thing that it can to its Aſſiſtance. But it is not inſuperable, if withſtood by Men who have a *true* Love for their Country, and Prudence and Diſcretion to *time* their Endeavours, and *guide* them aright.

MOREOVER: Suppoſing *none* of theſe *Propoſals* are ſuch as will go down at preſent, while Men are full of their Prejudices, and fond of their own Opinions: Yet, even in that Caſe, it may not be amiſs to lay before them the Things *that are right*; which they may conſider of at their Leiſure. When Men come to *reaſon* and *reflect*, their Prejudices will begin to *ſoften*; and Time will *reconcile* them to thoſe Expedients, which they had *inveighed* bitterly againſt before; perhaps for *want* of *underſtanding* and *knowing* them better. — Thus it often happens, That Propoſals deemed impracticable at *one* Seaſon, on account of the *popular Outcry* againſt them, may be called for at *another*, with equal Vehemence and Impatience. And therefore, with humble Submiſſion, It may not be amiſs to leave theſe PROPOSALS upon RECORD for future *Examination*, though none of them ſhould be judged *feaſible* at the preſent.

BUT beſides the former *Objection*, a SECOND is, That this Scheme itſelf is attended with *Inconveniencies*, as well as others.

I GRANT it is: And surely no Man in his Senses could ever suppose, That there could be any Scheme calculated for the *general* Good, which would not bear hard upon the Interests of some *particular* People,—The true Way of estimating any Proposal is, to consider, Whether it doth remedy more *old* Inconveniencies than it introduces *new* ones;—And whether, upon the *Whole*, it is *beneficial* or not,—and its Benefits of such *Importance* as deserve to be regarded?—Lastly, Whether likewise some of these very Inconveniencies which are supposed to attend it, may not be *prevented* or *amended* by further Experience and Observation. This is the true Way for estimating any Proposal: And by this Rule I would choose that my own should be tried; and then let them stand or fall.

WE are always complaining of the bad Morals of our People; of a general Corruption; and the being out-rivalled in Trade. Nevertheless, it is very certain, that the present System of Things greatly contributes to the Increase of each of these Evils. My Meaning is, that it lays powerful Temptations in Peoples way.—— And then, what can be expected? Some *few* perhaps will prove their Virtue to be superior; but the *great Majority* will certainly be corrupted. For evident it is, that the *Innocence* of the Bulk of Mankind, is best preserved by their being kept *ignorant* of the Temptation, or at a great Distance from it. Now what is the

the natural Tendency of *Cuſtomhouſe Oaths*, *Election Oaths*, *Freedom Oaths*, &c. &c. but to entice and encourage Mankind to be guilty of the foul Sin of *wilful* and *deliberate* Perjury? What are the *heavy* Taxes upon the *married* State, and *Exemptions* for *Batchelors*, but the like Inducements to Men to remain *ſingle*, and to gratify their Deſires in an *unlawful* Way? What are all the *excluſive* Companies, all the heavy Duties upon Importation, and the many Statutes for *cramping* the Trade of *Ireland*, but ſo many continued Attempts to *drive away* the Trade from ourſelves to the *French*, who are not only our *Rivals*, but the moſt *dangerous* ones we can have? And truly we have greatly ſucceeded in all theſe: Yet who can we blame but ourſelves? It may be pleaded indeed in excuſe for theſe Laws and Eſtabliſhments, That they were not originally intended to produce thoſe *bad* Effects. I allow they were not; nor are they charged with any ſuch Deſign. But the Queſtion here is, Not what was the View of the Makers of theſe Laws, or what was the End propoſed by ſuch Eſtabliſhments, but what is the *Tendency* of them, as verified by *Experience*, and how they do *operate* in Fact? And if it is made to appear, That they are ſo deſtructive in their Conſequences, and ſubverſive of our *Morals*, *Liberties*, and *Commerce*, it is but of little Conſolation to know, That they were eſtabliſhed with a better View; as we

are now conſidering the Things themſelves, with their natural Conſequences, not the Characters or Deſign of their Authors and Projectors.

I WILL only add one Reflection more to what has been ſaid; *viz.* That if we would ſtill keep on our Trade at a *Foreign* Market, we muſt, at leaſt, be upon an *equal* Footing with *other* Nations, as to the *Goodneſs* and *Cheapneſs* of what we have to ſell; otherwiſe we cannot expect, That Foreigners ſhould give Us the Preference to their own Loſs. This then being the State of the Caſe, it neceſſarily follows, That we muſt always have an Eye upon the Practices and Proceedings of our *Rivals*, and take our Meaſures accordingly, as far as regards this mutual Emulation. If *they* contrive Ways and Means to render their *Manufactures* cheaper or better than they did before, ſo as to outvie Us; *we* muſt ſtrive to outvie them in Cheapneſs and Goodneſs, or be deprived of that Part of Commerce by them: If *they* invite Foreigners to ſettle among them, in order to have the more Hands, and to keep down the Price of Labour; *we* muſt do the ſame, or take the Conſequence to ourſelves: If *they* allow of no excluſive Companies in a Branch of Trade which *interferes* with our Trade; *we* muſt put down our Companies, or loſe *that* Trade: If *their* Manufacturers are ſober and induſtrious, and work for low Wages, and ſeldom become a Burden upon

upon their Pariſhes; *we* muſt endeavour to put *ours* upon the ſame Footing, or be content with the Poverty which will be brought upon Us: If *their* Government requires little or no Duties upon Importation, in order to encourage the greater Numbers to engage in Trade, and that all Merchandize may come the cheaper to the Conſumer; *we* muſt *imitate* them in that Reſpect, and change our Cuſtoms into In-land Duties; or adminiſter continual Temptation to the Needy and Fraudulent to turn Smugglers, and ſuffer ourſelves to ſink under theſe Evils, together with the Burden and Weight of our Cuſtoms. Theſe are the Alternatives which are ſet before Us; and one would think, That if Mankind were not greatly blinded with their Prejudices, and biaſſed by private Intereſts and ſiniſter Views, they need not be long in deliberating which to chooſe.—Not to mention, That as every Country in *Europe* now begins to underſtand the Maxims of Trade, and apply themſelves to Commerce, and are actually raiſing *all Sorts* of Manufactures of their own, and have laid *new* Duties upon ours;—for theſe Reaſons, *We* ought to be *more* intent than *ever* to contrive all Ways and Means poſſible to *lower* the Price of every thing we *export*, in order to *overbalance* theſe additional Duties by Dint of *Cheapneſs* of Labour, and to outvie theſe *new Rivals* by the *Goodneſs* of our Manufactures.

AN

APPENDIX,

Containing a PLAN *for raiſing* ONE *only* TAX *on the Conſumers of Luxuries.*

THE foregoing Propoſals were endeavoured to be drawn up in ſuch a Manner as pointed out, how the deſired Alterations in our Syſtems of Commerce, and of collecting the Publick Revenue, might be brought about as gradually as poſſible. And no greater Deviations were attempted to be made from the preſent State of theſe Affairs, than ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary; leſt too precipitate a Shock might prejudice Mankind againſt Conviction. I did not therefore propoſe

poſe ſome of the above-mentioned Alterations, as what appeared to me the *very beſt* which could be deviſed; but the beſt in our *preſent* Circumſtances, and the likelieſt to ſucceed. For I am convinced, That what I am now going to offer, is in itſelf a much more effectual Remedy, if our Conſtitution is ſtrong enough to admit the Application of it.

THE Scheme is taken out of a Quarto Pamphlet, which would do Honour to any Man, ſeveral times already quoted; viz. *An Eſſay on the Cauſes and Decline of the Foreign Trade.*

BUT as I ſhall take the Liberty to make ſome few Alterations from, and Additions to, what this moſt ingenious Author hath advanced, I ſhall put thoſe Articles in a *different Character*, that they may be diſtinguiſhed from his; And that his Original Plan may not be involved in any Cenſure, which perhaps is only due to my Additions and Alterations.— The Reaſons which induced me to believe that ſome few Things might be altered, or added for the better, ſhall be laid before the Reader in the Sequel.

An Extract from Page 44, &c. of the *Eſſay on the Cauſes and Decline of the Foreign Trade.*

Firſt and Second PROPOSALS.

TO lay one Tax on the Conſumers of Luxuries, and take off all our other Taxes, Exciſes, and Cuſtoms:—And when that is done, to make all our Ports free.

As the Money-Affair is always the grand Object, ſomething, by Way of Equivalent, muſt be given for the Taxes taken off: As ſuch the following Scheme is offered.

A PROPOSAL *for raiſing one only Tax on the Conſumers of* Luxuries.

IT is hereby propoſed, That all Perſons uſing, wearing, or drinking the following Articles of Luxury, as particularly ſpecified, be obliged to take out a Licence Yearly, paying each one Subſidy for each Article of three Half-pence in the Pound only, on the computed Income they ſhould have to ſupport the Station of Life they voluntarily place themſelves in, by the Article of Luxury they uſe, wear, or drink, as by the Example following.

ARTI-

ARTICLES of LUXURY.	Computed Income.	Tax at 3 Halfpence *per* Pound.		
	£.	£	s	d.
All Persons				
1. Keeping two Coaches and Six for their Use — — — —	8000	50		
2. Using Dishes or Plates of Silver at their Tables, commonly called *Services* of Plate —— — — —	4000	25		
3. Keeping a Coach and Six for their Use—	2000	12	10	
4. Keeping a Coach and Four for their Use -	1000	6	5	
5. *Drinking French Wines in their Houses or Lodgings* —— ——	1000	6	5	
6. Keeping a Coach and Two for their Use — — — —	800	5		
☞ Chariots, Four-Wheel Chaises, *&c.* are included in the Term *Coach*.				
7. Wearing Jewels for their Dress (besides Necklaces, Solitaires, Rings, or Ear-Rings) — — — —	800	5		
8. Keeping a Sedan Chair for their Use —	800	5		
9. Wearing Gold and Silver, Men on their Coats and Hats; and Women on their Gowns and Shoes — —	500	3	2	6
10. Using Silver Plate for their Side-Boards or Tables (not having Services)	250	1	11	3
11. Using China Services, *viz.* Dishes and Plates at their Tables — —	250	1	11	3
12. Wearing Necklaces or Solitaires of Jewels for their Dress (besides Rings or Ear-Rings)	250	1	11	3
13. Keeping a Chair or Chaise with one Horse for their Use — —	250	1	11	3
14. *Keeping a Pack of Hounds* ——	250	1	11	3
15. *Keeping a Man, or Men Servants in Livery, or to wait at Table* — —	250	1	11	3
16. *Keeping more Saddle-Horses than one* —	250	1	11	3

ARTICLES of LUXURY.	Computed Income.	Tax at 3 Halfpence *per* Pound.		
	£.	£.	s.	d.
All Perſons				
17. Drinking *Port* Wine in their Houſe, Lodging or Service.—*I have inſerted the Word* Port *for Reaſons hereafter; and all other Wines, except* French, *are here included* ——— ———	100		12	6
18. *Keeping Greyhounds, Setters, Nets, Fowling-Pieces,* &c. ——— —	100		12	6
19. *Uſing China Plates for Deſerts only, (having no Services of China)* — —	100		12	6
20. Wearing Gold or Silver for their Dreſs (except on Coats, Gowns, Hats, or Shoes ——— ——— ———	100		12	6
21. Wearing Jewels in Rings, or Ear-Rings	100		12	6
22. *Going to Plays, Operas, Concerts, Balls, Maſquerades, Ridottos, Long Rooms, Publick Gardens* — —	100		12	6
23. *Going to Bear and Bull-Baitings, Prize-fightings, Boxing-matches, Cock-fightings, and Horſe-races* — —	50		6	3
24. Uſing no Silver Plate but Spoons —	50		6	3
25. Drinking Brandy, Rum, or any Spirits, in Houſe, Lodging, or Service—	50		6	3
26. *Wearing Silk or Silk Stuffs in Apparel* —— — —	50		6	3
27. *Having Pictures, Paintings or Prints in Houſe or Lodging* ——— ———	50		6	3
28. *Having more than one Looking-glaſs in ditto* — — —	50		6	3
29. Drinking Tea, Coffee, or Chocolate, in Houſe, Lodging, or Service ———	25		3	3½
30. *Uſing China Tea-Diſhes, Cups, or Saucers* — — —	25		3	3½
31. *Playing at Cards, Dice, or any other Game, which is not uſed for the ſake of bodily Exerciſe* — — —	25		3	3½

THIS is the general Scheme of the Author: And I have ventured to make ſuch Additions to it, as, I hope, are conſiſtent with his good Deſign. I ſhall therefore make no Apology for each particular Alteration; And only obſerve with reſpect to the 5th and the 17th Articles, *i. e.* The Diſtinction between drinking *French* Wines, and *other* Wines (which are the principal Alterations) that they both ſeem to me to be highly neceſſary. The Author indeed makes no Difference throughout the Treatiſe between promoting the Conſumption of *French* Wine or *Port* Wine, as if it was the ſame to the Commerce of this Kingdom: But, though I acknowledge with Pleaſure the Inſtruction I have received in other Parts of the Science of Commerce, I cannot follow him in this; and muſt ſtill ſtick to the Maxims of all the former Writers on Trade, till I can ſee more Reaſon to alter my Opinion. If *French Clarets*, *Burgundy*, and *Champagne*, were as cheap as *Port*, few Men would heſitate long which to chooſe. The *Britiſh Merchant*, I think, has ſatisfactorily proved, That were we to aboliſh all Duties on *French* Goods, and they to do the ſame on *Engliſh* (as was partly the Scheme of the Miniſtry during the four laſt Years of Queen *Ann*) the Conſequence would be, at leaſt, for a great many Years, That *England* would be over-run with *French* Silks, Laces, Wines, Brandies,

Brandies, Cloths, Stuffs, Ribbands, Fans, Toys, *&c.* And the *French* would take very little or nothing in Return, more than at preſent. The Experiment therefore which he propoſes, ſeems to me too hazardous; the bad Effects of it would be violent and inſtantaneous, and the good ones very ſlow and gradual; ſo that the Patient would be in Danger of expiring, as is often the Caſe, before the Medicine can operate.

BESIDES, Were we to give ſuch Encouragement to the *French* Wines, as is here ſuppoſed, what would become of our *Portugal* Trade? which, as to the Balance of it, is worth two Thirds of all the reſt. The Court of *Portugal* would lay an high Duty, and perhaps a Prohibition, upon all *Britiſh* Commodities, the Moment they found we did not give due Encouragement to theirs: Which indeed by Publick Treaty we are bound to do. And the *French* have always viewed this gainful Trade with a longing Eye; and would be glad to put in for it, if they found any Opening.

BUT to return; As to the Scheme in general, it is certainly very good. Perhaps the Valuation of the Income ſuppoſed neceſſary for ſome few of the principal Articles is ſet too high; being, I preſume, calculated for the Meridian of *London*, and the adjacent Counties: Whereas the Calculation ſhould have been made more upon a Medium with the

the more distant Parts of the Kingdom, where things are much cheaper. But this is a Trifle; and might easily be rectified. It is sufficient, that the Scheme is *good* in itself, and is still capable of great *Improvements*.

THE Author in the next Place gives a general Rule, "That all Articles of the same "Degree, or under the Article paid for, are "included in it." *i. e.* If I understand him rightly, The *greater* includes the *less*. For Instance, If a Person pays for a Coach and Six, he is thereby entitled to use a Coach and Four, a Chariot, a one Horse-Chaise, or any other Vehicle he pleases. If he enters a whole Service of Plate, he may use Side Boards, and all other Plate besides. If he takes out a Licence for drinking *French* Wines, the same will serve for *Port*, *Spanish*, or any other, for Rum and Brandy; and so on.

INDEED, as to playing at Cards, *&c.* I cannot allow this to be comprehended under the Article of going to see Publick Diversions, not only because in the one Case, Persons are rather *Spectators* than *Actors*, but also because Gaming of *every* kind ought to be *discountenanced* as much as possible.

I ADD also. what I conceive the Author has omitted, That the *highest* Article which any Man enters, gives the Lead to all the rest; so that he is to pay for each of the succeeding the same which he pays for the first. If a Person enters a Coach and Six, and pays *Twelve Pounds*

Pounds Ten Shillings, according to the Rates in the Table, he is to pay the ſame Sum for every other Article he enters. And there are the following weighty Reaſons for it: Firſt, That by ſo doing, this Scheme becomes the moſt excellent *ſumptuary* Law, that ever was deviſed: And ſecondly, That it is juſt and reaſonable each Perſon ſhould pay in Proportion to what he Uſes of any Commodity: Now the moſt probable Grounds we can go upon (for the Affair will not admit of Certainty and Demonſtration) is, That Perſons in general live in Proportion to the Figure they make. A Perſon, who keeps a Coach and Six, is ſuppoſed to have more Wine drank in his Family than one who keeps only a ſingle Chariot, and to uſe a greater Quantity in Proportion of every other Article, which he enters; and therefore in all Reaſon and Juſtice, he ſhould pay the more.

THE next Article that he propoſes is, "That Huſbands ſhould pay for their Wives "the one Fourth of the Article they pay for "themſelves, to entitle them to Uſe the ſame; "and that the Parents ſhould pay for each "Child under Age the one Eighth of the "Article they pay for themſelves, to entitle "them to uſe the ſame." Here again I am ſorry I find myſelf obliged to differ from the worthy Author. If the Huſband is taxed for his Wife, and Parents for their Children in Proportion to their Numbers; this would be making

making too near Approaches to the Fault the Author had himſelf ſo juſtly condemned in our preſent Syſtem. Beſides, when a Man has a Family, he is neceſſarily obliged to enter more Articles than he would do, were he ſingle. And it would be a great and diſcouraging Hardſhip for the Heads of Families to pay theſe Articles, or any Part of them, over again, on the Account of their Wives and Children. Moreover, I do not ſee how we could rightly diſtinguiſh which Articles belonged to the Huſband, which to the Wife, and which to the Children. It therefore ſeems to me a more equitable way, That the Huſband or Parent be reſponſible for the *whole* Family, and be conſidered, as if he entered *all* the Articles of his *ſingle Self*. If the Family are extravagant, and will uſe more Articles of Luxury than his Circumſtances will afford, it is his Buſineſs to reſtrain them: And the preſent Plan makes it his immediate Intereſt, as well as Duty ſo to do.

The Author then propoſes, "That Batchelors ſhould be doubly taxed, if of *Twenty* "*One* Years of Age." —This, with Submiſſion, is too ſoon. Suppoſe rather, That they paid a ſingle Tax for each Article, till they arrived at *Twenty Five* Years; and then were *trebly* taxed, till they married; and that Widowers likewiſe without Children, if upwards of *Thirty*, and under *Forty Five*, were *doubly* taxed.

THE

THE Author then recommends, That all Perſons, ſuch as he there reckons up, who get their Living by the Luxuries and Extravagance of others, ſhould be obliged to pay for every Article they enter, as if they had an Income of *Five Hundred Pounds* a Year. —— But here I think there is not a ſufficient Diſtinction made between the different Claſſes of theſe People; ſeeing that, according to him, all muſt pay alike, from the meaneſt Ale-houſe to the greateſt Tavern; which ſurely is a very unequal way of Taxing, and not at all agreeable to his own juſt Maxims. Suppoſe therefore, inſtead of fixing upon any particular Sum, That each of theſe Perſons ſhould tax himſelf, by his Way of Living, according as others do, but only much higher, *viz.* That all keepers of Taverns, Coffee-houſes, Long-Rooms, Publick Gardens, Ale-houſes, *&c.* And that all Players, Shew-men, *&c.* ſhould be *trebly* taxed, as long as they continue in ſuch Profeſſions;—and that even this ſhould be *doubled* on all thoſe, who retail *French* Wines or Brandies.

BUT undoubtedly the Way and Manner of levying ſuch a Tax, is the Point which merits moſt the Attention of the Publick. And on this Head, the worthy Author has given great Specimens of an uncommon Sagacity and Penetration. I ſhall not ſtay to repeat all his Rules and Directions, but refer thoſe who are diſpoſed, to the Treatiſe itſelf. But there is one

one Point, which particularly deſerves to be mentioned for its Singularity and Contrivance, and as it is the Maſter Key to all the reſt: And that is, the Method which he has taken to make each Perſon immediately intereſted in detecting the Frauds and Impoſitions of his Neighbours. He obſerves in the firſt Place, That as the whole Scheme is a Tax upon *Vanity*, the very Nature of this Paſſion betrays itſelf, and will not be concealed: Conſequently, there can be little Room for defrauding the Revenue in ſuch a Caſe.——But ſuppoſe a few Frauds ſhould be attempted in ſome particular Circumſtances; then the following Method, which he propoſes, is the moſt effectual Way of detecting them, *viz.* Let each Perſon for the firſt Year voluntarily tax himſelf according to the Station of Life he chooſes to appear in; and let him take out a Licence of the proper Officer in each Diſtrict, ſpecifying the ſeveral Articles he enters: Let a Pariſh Regiſter be kept of all the Money ſo raiſed in the Year within that Pariſh; and let the Tax ſo collected, be a Standard for laying on the Pariſh Rates of Church, Poor, Lamps, Scavengers, and all other Parochial or County Payments for the enſuing Year. The Conſequence will be, That thoſe who pay moſt, will naturally detect ſuch of their Neighbours as uſe any of the Articles above-mentioned without entering them; becauſe in ſo doing, they cauſe this latter Burden of Taxes to light the eaſier upon them-

themſelves, and oblige their Neighbours to contribute their Quota with them. And as the Author propoſes, That the ſuſpected Perſon ſhould be charged with the *Onus Probandi*, or Juſtification of himſelf, this would ſtill facilitate the Scheme. And the Idea of an Informer would be very far from being conſidered in that contemptible and deteſtable Light it is at preſent, when the Beſt, the Greateſt, and thoſe who make the moſt ſplendid Figure in each Pariſh, would be of the Number.

THIS Tax is propoſed by the Author to be laid on the firſt Year without taking off any other, in order to have a Fund aforehand, and to pay our National Debt the faſter, and alſo to ſee what it would amount to. Then he propoſes, That all other Taxes ſhould be aboliſhed Year by Year, as this increaſes, and is found adequate to ſupply their Places.

I WILL therefore ſingle out a Gentleman of *Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds* Income by the Year, with a Wife and four Children: And I will ſuppoſe that he enters every Article he well can; and compare that Tax with the preſent, in order to ſee what Advantages may be reaped by it.

A Gentleman of 250 *l. per Annum*, living ſomething profuſely, enters,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1. A Service of China, which includes all other Articles of China	1	11	3
2. A Side-Board of Plate; all other Plate (except Services) included	1	11	3
3. Jewels, *viz.* Necklaces and Solitaires; Rings and Earings included	1	11	3
4. A two wheeled Chaiſe	1	11	3
5. A Pack of Hounds; Grey-hounds, Guns, Nets, *&c.* included	1	11	3
6. Men-Servants in Livery, or to wait at Table	1	11	3
7. Saddle Horſes	1	11	3
8. *Port*, and all Wines (except *French*) Rum, Brandy, and Spirits included	1	11	3
9. Gold and Silver in Dreſs (except on Coats, Hats, Shoes, and Gowns) Silk, and Silk-Stuffs included	1	11	3
10. Going to Plays; all other Diverſions included	1	11	3
11. Pictures, Prints, *&c.*	1	11	3
12. Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate	1	11	3
13. Looking Glaſſes	1	11	3
14. Playing at Cards	1	11	3
Total, which this Gentleman would pay for his Annual Licence	21	17	6
Deduct *Three Pence* in the Pound Expences in collecting, which is about	0	5	6
Remains clear to the Government	21	12	9

WHEREAS a Gentleman of the ſame Income, let him be as frugal as he well can, pays at preſent for himſelf, his Wife, Children, and Family, in Duties, Cuſtoms, and Exciſes to the King, and Perquiſites to Officers of the Cuſtoms, with all their Train of *enhancing* Conſequences, almoſt double the former; tho' the neat Produce, which comes clear to the Government is full one third leſs, by the following Eſtimation.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1. THE Gentleman is charged with the King's Duty, Cuſtoms and Exciſe, for all the Salt, Soap, Leather, Candle, (and perhaps Coal) all the Malt and Hops (and perhaps Ale, Beer, Cyder and Perry) all the Wine, Brandy, Rum, and Spirits; the Sugar, Raiſins, Currants, Lemons, Oranges, Tobacco; the Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate, and other Articles uſed and conſumed by himſelf and Family: Which, if he is very ſaving, perhaps may amount to no more than about ——	20	0	0
Carried over —	20	0	0

2. HE

	l.	s.	d.
Brought over —	20	0	0
2. HE is charged with the *primary* kind of Advances on each of these Articles, *i. e.* The Advances which the Person who first pays the Duty, makes on the next Buyer, and he on the next, till it comes to the Consumer, who must pay for ALL; Which at least must amount to —— ——	10	0	0
3. * HE is charged with all *secondary* kind of Advances, *i. e.* The *reciprocal* Advances of the Price of Labour, Provisions, and all Commodities, which Tradesmen, Landlords, and all People concerned, make upon one another.—This must at least amount to as much more	10	0	0
Total paid at present, even with good Oeconomy ——	40	0	0

BUT

* THE Nature of *primary* and *secondary* Advances may be best explained by an Illustration of both in the same Trade. Suppose *A.* by Trade a Shoemaker: He buys his Leather of the Tanner and Currier, and pays to them the King's Duty, with their Advances upon it: He charges this Duty, with the Addition of their Advances, and a *new* one of his own, upon the Shoes he

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
BUT though the Gentleman concerned pays 40*l.* per Annum for the Duties and their Consequences, yet the Original Duty to the King was no more than	20	0	0
Deduct therefore one third at leaſt for collecting ——	6	13	4
Remains clear to the Government	13	6	8

I HAVE here allowed one third for collecting: and whoever conſiders the vaſt Expence which

ſells. This is the Nature of all *primary* Advances, be they multiplied ever ſo often. The Intereſt of the Money ſo paid and uſed in Trade, as Matters now ſtand, make it neceſſary that they ſhould be.

BUT this is not all: for *A.* finds that *B. C. D. E. F. G.* &c. That is, The Butchers, Brewers, Bakers, Farmers, Cheeſemongers, Chandlers, Grocers, Clothiers, Taylors, and in ſhort, all the Tradeſmen whom he deals with, do likewiſe charge him with *their reſpective* Advances. Therefore, as he has no Reſource but what his Occupation brings in, he charges his Shoes, as it were again, with a *ſecondary* Advance, in order to anſwer their Demands. Thus the Affair goes round, they charging him, and he them; till the Original Price of each one's Commodities is increaſed to a *prodigious imaginary Value.* It is therefore no longer to be wondered at, That a Pair of Shoes, which doth not pay *four Pence* Duty to the King, is yet enhanced *a Shilling*, or more in the Price, ſince the Duty laid upon Leather, and other the like Neceſſaries of Life.—Whereas no ſuch thing can happen according to the Nature of the Scheme here recommended: All Neceſſaries of Life, being Duty-free, and without Advances of any kind.

which the Government is at, especially in the Salt and Customs, will be apt to conclude, that I have not allowed enough. As there is a Draw-back upon all Salt exported, and Salt for the Use of the Fisheries; therefore it is necessary to have Salt Officers in all the Ports and Creeks of the Kingdom, to prevent Frauds and Impositions upon this Account. An amazing Expence which this amounts to. And as to the Customs; there is not one Port in ten (except the Ports of *London*, *Bristol*, *Liverpool*, *Southampton*, *Hull*, *Newcastle*, *Lynn*, *Leith*, and *Glascow*) which enter Merchandize enough to defray the Expences of their own Officers. —What a Difference is this, in comparison to the Scheme proposed! In *that*, as it is proposed, that each Person shall be obliged to come and enter, and pay the Money without any farther Expence, *three Pence* in the Pound would be full sufficient for the Salary of the Receiver and his Clerk: In *this*, *Six Shillings and Eight Pence* will scarcely satisfy for the collecting of *Twenty Shillings*, even by computing all upon an Average. So that though the Subject, with all his Oeconomy, pays annually *Forty Pounds*, the King receives but one third of it, *viz. Thirteen Pounds Six Shillings and Eight Pence:* Whereas in the other Case, the Subject would pay but *Twenty One Pounds Seventeen Shillings and Six Pence*, tho' he appeared in a much gayer Scene of Life. And yet the Government would receive, clear

of

of all Charges, *Twenty One Pounds Twelve Shillings*, which is upwards of one third more. What then would it have been, had they *both* lived in the ſame Degree of *Gaiety* and *Profuſeneſs?*

SUCH a Scheme therefore as here propoſed, one would think, ſhould recommend itſelf. For all Perſons in the Nation would find their Account in it at the long run, if they could have the Patience to look forward, and were not ſo contracted in their Views, as to be chained down to the *preſent* Advantage of private Intereſt. —— But what has been already mentioned, is only *one* Good Conſequence, out of a multitude of others which would attend it. For as it would render all things cheaper, it would neceſſarily increaſe our Foreign Trade, enrich our Country, employ our Poor, increaſe the Stock of Inhabitants, raiſe the *real* Value of all our Lands and Commodities, and depreſs the preſent *imaginary* and *factitious* one: As there would be no Duty upon Importation, it would invite more Perſons to engage in Trade; and prevent the very Poſſibility of Smuggling: As all Ports would be open, every Part of the Kingdom would have a fair and equal Chance; and the Sun-ſhine of Commerce and Plenty would be diffuſed equally throughout: Above all, It would be attended with two excellent Conſequences, which deſerve to be more particularly noted, as we have little of the Kind now exiſting. For *firſt*, It would

would be a moſt excellent *ſumptuary* Law, to give a Check to the Luxury and Extravagance of the Age. The *higheſt* Article which a Man enters giving the Lead to all the reſt, would make it his immediate Intereſt, to go as Low as poſſible: So that he would find himſelf under a continual Monitor to forego his Pleaſures, till he could better afford to pay for them. His *aſpiring* Vanity would be checked by the Conſideration, That he is to pay the more for every other ſucceeding Article in Conſequence of the firſt. *Secondly*, It would be a Tax, which no Man could complain of, as it would be his own voluntary Act and Deed, to rate himſelf in this or that Claſs, and to appear either in an higher or a lower Station of Life.

BUT alas! after all, what can we expect from ſuch a World as this?——The Scheme before Us is of too *enlarged* and *noble* a Nature, to be rightly comprehended and truly reliſhed by *narrow* and *contracted* Minds. It claſhes with the *preſent* Intereſt of too many Perſons, to be likely to ſucceed. And I am afraid, I may apply to this Author, the Words I heard in a Caſe not very different from it: *Sir, This is all right; But it will never do:*——*It is* TOO HONEST.

HOWEVER, there is a Satisfaction in offering things *right* and *honeſt* to Publick Conſideration, whether they are accepted, or not. It is a laudable Paſſion to be willing to do the moſt *extenſive* Good. And there are not many

many Men, though many may be honeſt and upright in their private Capacity, who think themſelves concerned to be active and indefatigable in promoting the Welfare of the Community. The Caſe with the Selfiſh and Deſigning is quite the reverſe: They are ever vigilant and induſtrious in defeating every Meaſure, which is not calculated for their own *private* Advantage, to the Detriment of others. Their Craft is endangered by ſuch a Syſtem: And therefore they always cry it down, and are zealous in oppoſing it.

THUS it is, That in moſt Conteſts, where the Publick Good is concerned, a few knaviſh and diſhoneſt Perſons are an Over-match by their Zeal and Activity for greater Numbers, who are more negligent and indifferent. Every generous and diſintereſted Propoſal naturally alarms all thoſe, who prey upon the Publick. —— But let the Event be what it will, an honeſt Man, who doth his Duty, enjoys that Satisfaction which they are Strangers to.

FINIS.

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

EXPEDIENCY of a LAW

FOR THE

NATURALIZATION

OF

FOREIGN PROTESTANTS:

In Two Parts.

PART I.

Containing HISTORICAL REMARKS on the Diſpoſition and Behaviour of the Natives of this Iſland, in regard to Foreigners; occaſioned by the Rejection of the late NATURALIZATION BILL.

By JOSIAH TUCKER, M. A.
Rector of St STEPHEN's in BRISTOL,
AND
Chaplain to the Right Reverend the
Lord Biſhop of BRISTOL.

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REFLECTIONS

THE

PREFACE.

AS the Author of the following Treatiſe has already appeared in Publick on a Subject of Commerce, and undergone ſome Cenſures for engaging in Enquiries, ſeemingly beſide his Profeſſion; he begs Leave to offer ſome Reaſons for his interfering in theſe Matters, and, at the ſame Time, to vindicate himſelf from the Suppoſition of having deſerved the ill Treatment he has met with. If it ſhall appear then, that he has not been wanting in his Endeavours to diſcharge his Clerical Duties punctually, as he hopes it would appear, if Enquiry were made in his Pariſh (in which, though large and populous, he performs all the Offices of his Function himſelf, according to the beſt of his Abilities:) If, in this Particular, he is not found neglectful, and theſe Enquiries, which he proſecutes at his leiſure Hours, are not, in their Tendency, inconſiſtent with Piety to God, and good Offices to Man,—he flatters himſelf, that as long as he follows theſe Studies, without neglecting his other Engagements, and delivers his Opinion in an inoffenſive Manner, he ſhall be excuſed in the Judgment of all candid*

 Perſons

* *A brief Eſſay on the Advantages and Diſadvantages which reſpectively attend* France *and* Great Britain *with regard to Trade: With ſome Propoſals for removing the principal Diſadvantages of* Great Britain, *in a new Method. The Second Edition, corrected, with large Additions.* London, *printed for* T. Trye, *in* Holborn, 1750.

Perſons, tho' the Warmth of Party Zeal, or the Reſentment of thoſe, whoſe Intereſt claſhes with that of the Publick, may excite them to vilify and inſult him. It hath been thought excuſable for a Clergyman to write on Subjects of Amuſement, or on curious Points of Learning; and therefore, it may not be reckoned abſurd in a Clergyman, to form a Judgment (and deliver it modeſtly) on Subjects, by which, not only national Wealth and Proſperity, and the external Bleſſings of Life are encreaſed; but, by which, Induſtry, Frugality, and Sobriety are promoted,—and promoted too, by protecting perſecuted *and* conſcientious *Chriſtians.*

INDEED, it might be obſerved, that every Plan, by which the Practice of ſocial Duties is advanced, which contributes to make Men more Sober, Juſt, and Frugal, (which is the Fund of Charity) is not foreign to, but intimately connected with the Clerical Character. And to deter the Clergy from ſuch Enquiries, is to confine, in a great Degree, their Abilities of doing Good. Or again, To propoſe any Expedient, by which the Encreaſe of wilful and corrupt Perjury may be prevented, is not unbecoming a Miniſter of that God, who will not hold him guiltleſs, that taketh his Name in vain. *Yet this would be prevented, in the two* GREAT SOURCES *of it, by avoiding the Oaths now taken at* Cuſtom-Houſes, *and thoſe by* Freemen *of Towns. A Scheme was humbly offered by the Author of theſe Sheets, in an* Eſſay on Trade, *to avoid the former; and his preſent Attempt is, to point out the true Cauſes and Origin of the latter; together with ſuch* Remedies *for theſe Evils, as appear to him the moſt effectual. And, though he may be miſtaken in the Means propoſed, yet he is perſwaded, that all ſerious Chriſtians will join with him,*

him, in wiſhing, that the Oaths of Freedom were altered, from what they are at preſent; and ſo conſtituted, as not to reduce Men to the ſad Neceſſity of deſtroying their Commerce, or preſerving it by a CONTINUAL* *Profanation of the ſacred Name of God.*

UPON the Whole, though interfering with temporal Things immoderately is derogatory to the Clerical Character; yet as Commerce multiplies the Relations of Men, and creates a Variety of Moral Obligations, *it will not be thought unbecoming that Order, who are to ſerve to the Glory of God, and the Edification of Men, to remove Temptations, and propoſe temporal*

* Part of a Freeman's Oath, in the City of *London*, is, "Ye "ſhall know no Foreigner to buy or ſell any Merchandiſe with "any other Foreigner within this City, or Franchiſe thereof, "but ye ſhall warn the Chamberlain thereof, or ſome Miniſ- "ter of the Chamber. Ye ſhall take no Apprentice,——the "Child of any Alien."

Part of a Freeman's Oath, in the City of *Briſtol*, is as follows; "You ſhall not know any Foreigner, or Stranger, to buy and "ſell with another Foreigner, within the Precincts of this "City, but you ſhall give Knowledge thereof unto the Cham- "berlain, or his Deputy, without Delay. You ſhall not "take any Apprentice,—except he be born under the King's "Obeyſance."

This national Antipathy againſt Foreigners, was the *Stock* on which the Burgeſſes and Freemen grafted their narrow excluſive Schemes of Commerce, and Plans of Monopoly. For the Tenor of the Oaths of Freedom is much the ſame in other Towns and Cities, as in *London* and *Briſtol*. And, in the Language of theſe incorporated Places, the Word *Foreigner* denotes not only an *Alien*, or one born out of the *King's Obeyſance*, but every *Engliſhman*, not free of their Corporation. And even Lodgers, In-tenants, Houſe-keepers, Free-holders, Book-keepers, Clerks, Agents, Factors, Mariners, Merchants, &c. though *reſiding* in ſuch Places, are not allowed, by their *Bye-Laws*, to buy and ſell, of and to each other, if they are not free themſelves. And all the Freemen are obliged, by the expreſs Terms of their Oath, to give Information of ſuch Sales and Contracts, as ſoon as they come to their Knowledge. And yet,——But I forbear: The Reader will ſupply the reſt.

ral Rewards to Virtue; especially, if these Schemes of national Reformation should be attended with an Increase of Commerce, and national Honour, with the Security of Liberty, and its known Attendants, Learning, and true Religion. At least, if the Author may be proved to have erred, he will gladly retire from these Studies; which he has hitherto followed upon Motives of this Kind only.

WITH regard to the Naturalization *of* foreign Protestants, *if any such Bill should hereafter be laid before the Houses of Parliament, he is inclined to wish, with the greatest Deference to the Opinion of better Judges, that two Restrictions might be inserted in it, more to obviate the* imaginary *Danger, which prejudiced People apprehend from passing of it, than any real ill Consequences from either Source.*

FIRST, That naturalized Foreigners should gain no Parish Settlement; *that they should neither become a Burthen to the Natives of this Country, nor have any Tax levied on them to maintain our Poor. This is equitable on both Sides, and may be necessary to prevent popular Clamours:—Though the Author can venture to assert (which he would not presume to do without good Authority) that the Foreigners, who have settled in this Kingdom for seventy Years past, have paid, at least, a* Pound Sterling *towards the Support of the* English *Poor, for* every Penny *that has been levied upon the* English *to maintain* poor Foreigners. *And if those Gentlemen, who opposed the Introduction of foreign Protestants, under the Apprehension that it would encrease the Poor-Tax (a Burthen too great already) would but give themselves the Trouble to make Enquiries in* London, Bristol, Southampton, Canterbury, *or any other Place, where any Number of Foreigners have resided, they would*

would entertain very different Notions of this Affair; and find Cauſe to truſt no longer to general Invectives, popular Cries, and national Prejudices; by which the beſt diſpoſed People are often miſled, and ſometimes induced to join in Meaſures, not only deſtructive to the Good of their Country, but ſubverſive of the Dictates of Humanity, and the cleareſt Precepts of the Goſpel.

AGAIN, That no Foreigner ſhould be capable of a Place of Truſt *or* Power *by a general Naturalization. The Wiſdom of the Legiſlature might, by an expreſs Act, qualify a particular Perſon of extraordinary Merit: And an open Admiſſion of all naturalized Perſons, would be made a Topick for popular, though groundleſs Declamation.*

ONE more Obſervation is humbly offered on this Subject, viz. *That however prudent and expedient it may be, to admit foreign Proteſtants to be naturalized Subjects, yet unleſs there were the higheſt Probability of bringing the Point to bear, to attempt it and fail, would confirm the common People in their Prejudices; and ſtrengthen the Credit of thoſe, who, thro' Diſaffection, or a private Intereſt, incompatiable with the publick Good, have oppoſed this Meaſure. This will impower them to ſpread* ſtrange Reports, *to impoſe on the Credulity of the lower Sort of People, and to infuſe into them Suſpicions of the pernicious Views of thoſe Men, who propoſed this deſtructive Project;—which, co-inciding with the national Prejudice againſt Foreigners, would be greedily received. And when, by the Bill's not paſſing, theſe Rumours are not confuted by Experience, how ſhall we convince a Mob, who act by Paſſion, not by Reflection; who are to be gained by ſiniſter and mean Arts, and therefore are not generally influenced by the wiſeſt, or beſt of Men.*

Shortly will be Publiſhed,

[With a Preface, ſetting forth the *avowed* Doctrine, and *conſtant* Practice of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the Perſecution of PROTESTANTS.]

PART II.

CONtaining important Queries relating to the Improvement and Extenſion of Commerce: —Materials for Employing the Poor, and the Cauſes of the Want of Employment: —The Encreaſe of Inhabitants, the Riches of a Country; the Landed and National Intereſt:—Taxes of all Kinds, particularly the Poor Tax:—The Birth-right and Privileges of *Engliſhmen*, and the real Intereſt of Tradeſmen: —The moſt efficacious, as well as the gentleſt Methods for the Reformation of a People's Morals: —A Regard to the Conſtitutions both in Church and State:—The Duties of Humanity, and the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion. To which will be added, by Way of *Appendix*, A calm Addreſs to all Parties in Religion, concerning Diſaffection towards the preſent Government; firſt Publiſhed during the late Rebellion, and now to be republiſhed with material Additions.

PART I.

CONTAINING,

Hiſtorical Remarks on the Diſpoſition and Behaviour of the Natives of this Iſland towards Foreigners; occaſioned by the Rejection of the late Naturalization Bill.

IT is obſervable, that every Nation hath ſome peculiar Biaſs, of a virtuous and a vicious Tendency, which conſtitutes the diſtinguiſhing Characteriſtic of that People: And even New-Comers acquire, in a ſhort Time, the ſame Diſpoſitions and Manners. The preſent *French* and *Spaniards* ſeem to inherit both the good and bad Qualities of the ancient Inhabitants of *Gaul* and *Spain*. And the modern *Engliſh*,

though a People but of Yesterday, in Comparison with the Pretensions of other Nations to Antiquity, are as much averse to Foreigners, as ever were the antient *Britons*. These three Nations, the *French*, *Spaniards*, and *English*, however different in their present Dispositions, sprung originally from the same Country, and were noted for an Uniformity of Customs, Laws, and Manners.

IT would be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to trace the Causes of this Difference in the Tempers of Mankind, removed to different Situations. But some Time may be usefully employed in examining, whether due Care hath been taken to cultivate, regulate, and improve the good Qualities of any People, and to restrain the bad ones by wholesome Laws and Discipline. The Subject I am now upon leads me to this Enquiry, as far as relates to the Reception which Foreigners, even Merchants, Tradesmen, and Manufacturers, have usually met with in this Kingdom.

FROM the Conquest, till upwards of two hundred Years afterwards, it doth not appear, that Strangers were permitted to reside in *England*, on Account of Commerce, beyond a limited Time, but by a special Warrant. For they were considered only as Sojourners, coming to a Fair or Market, and were obliged to employ

employ their Landlords as Brokers, to buy and ſell their Commodities. And we find, that one Stranger was often arreſted for the Debt, or puniſhed for the Miſdemeanor of another: as if all Strangers were to be looked upon as a People with whom the *Engliſh* were in a State of perpetual War; and therefore, might make Repriſals on the firſt they could lay Hands on. This is ſo glaring an Injuſtice, and a Treatment ſo impolitic, as well as cruel to fair Dealers, that it would ſeem incredible, if there were not ſuch authentic Vouchers for it in the Firſt, Second, Third, and Fourth Volumes of *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, in Lord *Coke*'s *Second Inſtitute*, Page 204. and in the Statute-Book itſelf:—As will farther appear in the Courſe of this Narrative.

BUT the Merchants of the *Low Countries*, of *Florence* and *Sienna*, having at different Times lent conſiderable Sums to the Kings of *England*, and the great Men of the Kingdom, the Prelates and Barons; they were at laſt permitted to hire Houſes of their own, and to diſpoſe of their Goods themſelves to the beſt Advantage. This mighty Privilege was firſt obtained about the Year 1284. and the 12th of *Edward* I. But great were the Clamours raiſed on that Occaſion. And *Fabian* (as quoted in the *Memoirs of Wool*, Page 17. Vol. I.) who places this Affair two Years later, *viz.* in

1286. positively tells us, that this Concession "was to the greate Hurt of the hole Realm "of *England*." And *Rapin* observes, "That "the Commons granted the King a Subsidy of "the Fiftieth Part of their Moveables, to ex-"pel the Kingdom all such Foreigners, as "were a Burden to the Nation." The Burden was, as explained by *Fabian*, That these Strangers, by becoming settled Inhabitants, had greater Opportunities of adulterating their Wares, and using false Weights and Measures: So easy is it to find a Pretence, when we have an Inclination to do it. As if these People had no Opportunity of adulterating their Wares in their own Country, or that the *English* Landlord would not have connived at the Fraud, provided He might share in the Profit; or, as if there was greater Security for their Honesty, when they were only Lodgers and transient Guests, than after they became settled in known Abodes. However, these Clamours prevailed, and their Privileges were taken from them, under a Colour that they were detected in such base Practices. And this was judged a sufficient Reason for levying a large Fine upon them, after they had suffered "*by a Sea-*"*son harde, and vyle Pryſonement.*"

BUT in a very few Years, the King, and the great Men, so sensibly felt the evil Consequences of expelling the Merchants Strangers, that

that they thought it neceſſary to recal * them: And then the City of *London* began their Complaints; but met with an abſolute Repulſe: For Experience had taught the King and the Parliament to diſtinguiſh between the general Intereſts and Welfare of the Kingdom, and the monopolizing Views of Individuals. This Prince proceeded farther; and in the thirty firſt Year of his Reign, granted a Charter † of Protection to Merchants Strangers, which contained conſiderable Privileges, when compared to the Difficulties they had formerly laboured under.

BUT the greateſt Hardſhips ſtill remained unredreſſed; particularly, that a Foreigner was liable to be arreſted for the Debt of another, or to be puniſhed for his Miſdemeanor. It ſeems likewiſe very probable, that the Contents

* *Coke*'s *Second Inſtitute*, Page 741. "In the 18th "Year of *Edward* I. (that is about five Years after the "Merchants Strangers had been fined and impriſoned, "as above related) in the Parliament Roll it is contained "thus, *Cives London. petunt, quod Aliegenæ Mercatores "expellantur d Civitate, quia ditantur ad Depaupera-"tionem Civium*, &c.

"Reſponſio, *Rex intendit quod Mercatores extranei "ſunt idonei & utiles magnatibus*, &c. *& non habet "Conſilium eos expellendi.*"

† THIS Charter is not to be found among the Public Acts of *Edward* I. but among thoſe of *Edward* III. where it is recited at large, and confirmed anew. See *Rym.* Vol. IV. Page 361.

tents of this Charter were but little obſerved in the Reign of his Succeſſor, *Edward* II. For this indolent Prince regarded nothing but to pleaſe his Favourite *Gaveſton*, and to ſpend all the Money he could bring together, in Diverſions and Entertainments. In the mean Time, the Citizens of *London*, and the Inhabitants of other Towns and Boroughs, were at liberty to moleſt the Foreigners as much as they pleaſed. And indeed, the Broils which enſued between the King and his Barons, were another Cauſe which muſt have diſcouraged Strangers from ſettling here.

NOW, as it is obſervable, that during the Times under our preſent Conſideration, the whole Trade of theſe Parts of the World centred in *Flanders*, it may be worth while to enquire, whether the ſame Policy prevailed there, or what other Meaſures were taken in relation to Commerce. And nothing can ſet this in a clearer Light, than the Anſwer of *Robert*, Earl of *Flanders*, to the Requeſt ſent him by our King *Edward* II. to cut off all Intercourſe with the *Scotiſh* Nation, whoſe King, *Robert Bruce*, was, as he alledged, in Rebellion againſt him, and excommunicated by the Pope. To this, the Earl returns a moſt reſpectful Anſwer, but adds, * " We muſt " not

* " UNDE veſtram Magnificentiam volumus non latere, " quod Terra noſtra *Flandriæ* UNIVERSIS CUJUSCUM- " QUE

" not conceal it from your Majesty, that our " Country of *Flanders* is COMMON TO ALL " THE WORLD, where every Person finds a " FREE ADMISSION: Nor can we take away " this Privilege from Persons concerned in " Commerce, without bringing *Ruin and De-* " *solation on our Country.* If the *Scotch* come " to our Ports, and our Subjects go to theirs, " it is neither the Intention of Ourselves, nor " our Subjects, to encourage them in their " Error, or to be Partakers of their Crime; " but only to carry on our Traffic, without " taking Part with them."

IT was the Opinion of this wise Prince, that his Country could not have too many People in it, though it was already the most populous in *Europe*:—Neither was he afraid, that the Subjects of other Powers would steal away the Secrets and Mysteries of Trade, though *Flanders* was known to be the Rendezvous of the most expert and ingenious Artisans:—Nor yet was

" QUE REGIONIS COMMUNIS EST, & cuiq; liber in " eadem patet Ingressus. Nec possumus Mercatoribus, " suas exercentibus Mercaturas, Ingressum, prout hac- " tenus consueverunt, denegare, quin ista cederent in " *Desolationem nostræ Terræ & Ruinam.* Et si *Scoti* " ad nostros Portus declinant, & nostri Homines ad " *Scotiæ* Portus declinaverint, Intentionis nostræ, & " nostrorum, non est eos propter hoc in Errore fovere, " nec in Crimine cum eis participiendo comitare, sed " solum Mercaturas exercendo Partem minime facien- " tes." *Rym. Fœd.* Tom. III. Page 771.

was he apprehenſive, that ſuch a general Naturalization would tempt the Beggars and the Lazy of other Countries, to come in Swarms to eat up the Riches of his own, though his Situation on the *Continent*, had this been a probable Conſequence, might have given him much more Cauſe to fear it, than ours can give us, who live in an Iſland:—Laſtly, he very juſtly diſtinguiſhed between holding an Intercourſe with People for the Benefits of Commerce, and embracing their Principles, or partaking of their Crimes.

BUT his Maxims were too large and noble to be underſtood by an ignorant, or reliſhed by a prejudiced People. And we do not find, that Strangers were able to obtain any reaſonable Settlement in *England*, or juſt Protection, till *Edward* III. came to the Throne. This great and wiſe Prince, in the ſecond Year of his Reign, renewed the Charter of Protection, which his Grandfather, *Edward* I. had given to Strangers. And finding that this was not Encouragement enough, he cauſed a Law to be made ſeven Years after, for their better Security, and greater Inducement to ſettle here. This Statute was made in a Parliament held at *York*, 1335. ſome Parts of which juſtly deſerve to be particularly cited. In the Preamble it is obſerved, "That grievous Damage "have been done to the King and his People, "by ſome People of *Cities*, *Boroughs*, *Ports*

"*of*

" *of the Sea*, and other Places of the ſaid " Realm, which *in long Time paſt have not* " *ſuffered*, nor *yet will ſuffer* Merchants " Strangers, nor others, which do carry and " bring in, by Sea or Land, Wines, Avoirdu- " poize, and other Livings and Victuals, " with divers other Things to be ſold, ne- " ceſſary and profitable, to ſell or deliver ſuch " Wines, Livings, Victuals, nor other Things, " to *any other than to themſelves:* By reaſon " whereof, ſuch Stuff aforeſaid, is ſold to the " King, and to his People, in the Hands of " the ſaid Citizens, Burgeſſes, and other Peo- " ple Denizens, *more dear* than they ſhould " be, if ſuch Merchants Strangers, and others, " which bring ſuch Things into the Realm, " might freely ſell them to whom they " would:" It was therefore enacted, that theſe Merchants Strangers ſhould be at liberty to trade, buy, and ſell, according as they pleaſed, without Diſturbance or Interruption.

Now this Prince always bore the Character of being one of the moſt ſagacious, that ever ſat on the *Engliſh* Throne. And Hiſtorians have obſerved, that there were more good Laws made in his Reign, than in the Times of all his Predeceſſors. His Maxim was to prefer the general Welfare of the Kingdom, to the Intereſt of any particular Society. Let us therefore judge of this Law by its Effects.——

I. THEREFORE in two Years after the paſſing of it, we find an Act made to prevent the Exportation of Wool;—Another againſt wearing outlandiſh Cloth;—Another againſt bringing of ſtrange Cloth into the Realm;—And another to invite foreign Cloth-makers into the King's Dominions. "And to the Intent," ſaith the Act, "the ſaid Cloth-workers ſhall "have the greater Will to come and dwell "here, our Sovereign Lord the King will "grant them Franchiſes, as many, and ſuch "as may ſuffice them." This Statute of Naturalization cauſed great Commotions in ſome of the principal Cities: For the *Engliſh* would have rather choſe to have ſeen their Wool exported unmanufactured, as uſual, than be taught by Foreigners to make it into Cloth. But the King was determined, that the Purpoſes of ſo excellent a Law ſhould not be defeated for want of Execution. And therefore, when the Mayor and Magiſtrates of *Briſtol* endeavoured to prevent the introducing of Weavers, and other Manufacturers, by extorting large Sums of Money from the Undertakers, and by other Acts of Oppreſſion and Violence, he ſent them a very ſevere Reprimand, and gave them to underſtand, that it was in vain to contend againſt a Law which he had reſolved ſhould be obeyed. And when the Citizens of *London* proceeded to greater Outrages, he ſent them likewiſe the ſame kind of

of expostulatory and threatning Letter. These two Mandates are such evident Proofs of the narrow Spirit and Perverseness of our Forefathers (whom too many among Us, even at this Day, are weak enough to copy after) that I have inserted them below * for the Reader's Satisfaction.

II. In

* THE first Mandate, *viz.* That to the Mayor and Bailiffs of *Bristol*, is dated the 15th of *November*, 1339. that is, about two Years after passing the Naturalization Act, and runs in these Words;

" REX, Majori & Ballivis Villæ suæ *Bristolliæ*, " salutem:

" CUM nuper de assensu Prælatorum, Comitum, Ba-" ronum, ac aliorum, in Parliamento nostro apud " *Westmonasterium* tunc convocato existentium, ordina-" tum fuisset & concordatum, *quod Lanæ infra Reg-" num nostrum in Pannos operarentur*; & quod omnes " illi qui Pannos hujusmodi operari & facere vellent, " eos in singulis locis ejusdem Regni operari & facere " possent absq; Impedimento qualicumq; Jamq; ex par-" te *Thomæ Blauket*, & quorumdam aliorum Burgen-" sium Villæ prædictæ, acceperimus, quod cum ipsi " prætextu Concordiæ & Ordinationis prædictarum, ac " Proclamationis ibidem, ut dicitur, ex parte nostrâ inde " factæ, diversa instrumenta pro Pannis hujusmodi tex-" endis & faciendis in domibus suis propriis fieri, & *tex-" tores ac alios operarios ex hac causâ conduci fecerint*; " vos ad præmissa considerationem non habentes, *di-" versas Pecuniæ Summas* ab iisdem *Thomâ* & aliis occa-" sione confectionis & levationis instrumentorum præ-" dictorum, *exigilis*, & ipsos eâ occasione *multipliciter* " *inquietatis & gravatis*, ut asserunt, minus justè, in " ipsorum *Thomæ* & aliorum dispendium non modicum,

II. IN the following Parliaments many Regulations were made for the true and juſt making and meaſuring of Cloth, as alſo for the good Government of other Artificers; which is a ſtrong preſumptive Proof, that Trade and Commerce were conſiderably extended.

III. This

" & contra formam ordinationis, concordiæ, & proclamationis prædictarum: Super quo ſupplicarunt ſibi per nos de congruo remedio in hac parte provideri: Nos advertentes ordinationem, concordiam, & proclamationem prædictas, ſi in Regno noſtro teneantur & obſerventur, *ad noſtram & totius populi noſtri ejuſdem Regni utilitatem cedere poſſe*; volentesq; præfatos *Thomam* & alios qui Pannos hujuſmodi operari & facere voluerint, ac ipſos operarios eo prætextu ab injuriis & exactionibus indebitis protegi & tueri, Vobis MANDAMUS, &c." See *Rymer's Fœd.* Vol. V. Page 137.

THE other Mandate bears date the 12th of *October*, 1344. *viz.*

" REX, Majori & Vicecomitibus *Londoniæ*, ſalutem:

" CUM in Parliamento noſtro, apud *Weſtmonaſterium*, anno Regni noſtri *Angliæ* undecimo, tento inter cætera, pro communi utilitate dicti Regni, concordatum fuiſſet, quod omnes operarii Pannorum de *partibus extraneis*, de quacumque terrâ fuerint, qui infra dictum Regnum noſtrum, aut terras noſtras *Hiberniæ*, & *Walliæ*, venire, & ibidem morari vellent, in iiſdem Regno & terris ſalvè & ſecurè ſub protectione & ſalvo conductu noſtris venirent, & ubi in dictis Regno & terris vellent, morarentur, & quod nos eiſdem operariis, *ut libentius ibidem venirent, tot & tales libertates, quod eis ſufficerent, concederemus*, quam quidem

" dem

III. THIS famous Statute, made in the ninth Year of his Reign, is often confirmed by ſubſequent Parliaments, and ſometimes with ample Additions. And the very Words of the ſeveral Confirmations plainly imply, That the Mayors and Societies of the reſpective Cities and Boroughs, were extremely averſe to obey this uſeful Law. But the Confirmations of it, paſſed in the twenty fifth Year of his Reign, *Stat.* IV. c. 2. and the twenty ſeventh, *Stat.* II. c. 2. put it out of their Power to moleſt foreign Merchants and Artificers for the future, in any other Way, than by arreſting one Foreigner for the Debt of another. This barbarous Cuſtom had long prevailed, and was ſometimes made an Engine of Oppreſſion

" dem concordiam in Civitate prædictâ, & in ſingulis " Comitatibus dicti Regni noſtri, fecimus proclamari, " ac jam intellexerimus, quod quidem Malefactores de " Civitate prædictâ, diverſis hujuſmodi operariis Pan- " norum, qui juxta proclamationem prædictam, ſub " protectione noſtrâ, jamdiu eſt, venerunt, & in dicta " Civitate, per tempus non modicum, meſteras ſuas " exercendo, ſunt morati, *diverſa dampna & gravamina* " *intulerunt*, *& in dies inferunt*, ipſiſq; de VITA & " MEMBRIS in tantum COMMINANTUR, quod ibi- " dem *ulterius morari non audent*, niſi eis per nos ſubve- " niatur in hàc parte; nos, volentes omnes & ſingulos " hujuſmodi operarios, de partibus exteris, in Regnum " noſtrum prædictum, ex causà prædictà venientes, & " ibidem morantes, a violentiis & injuriis, quibuſcumq; " preſervari, Vobis MANDAMUS, *&c.*" See *Rymer's Fœd.* Vol. V. Page 429.

Oppreſſion in the Hands of the Freemen of one City or Town, againſt thoſe of another. For the Members of theſe little Societies are ſo ſelfiſh and narrow-minded, as to conſider every Perſon as a Foreigner, that doth not belong to their Community. But though we learn from Lord *Coke*, in his *Second Inſtitute*, Chap. 23. that the *Engliſh* themſelves were apt enough to commit theſe Outrages on each other, and ſometimes did ſo; yet as every Corporation could retaliate the Wrong done to its own Member, upon the Member of another Corporation, when he was found within its Precincts, this became, in ſome Degree, a reciprocal Check upon them. Whereas the poor Alien had no Protection or Redreſs, All being united againſt him, as their common Enemy. And if this Cuſtom had continued, the Inhabitants of the Cities and Boroughs would have rendered this Country ſo unſafe for Foreigners, that they muſt all have left it, notwithſtanding the King and the Parliament had encouraged them to ſettle here.

WHEREFORE, IV. To ſtop the Progreſs of theſe iniquitous Proceedings, a Law was made to aboliſh ſuch a Cuſtom for ever: Every Word of which is ſo expreſſive of national Juſtice, good Faith, and public Utility, that I am perſuaded I ſhall do my Readers a Pleaſure to recite it at large.

Anno

Anno 27mo *Edvardi* III. Anno Dom. 1353.
Stat. II. *c.* 17.

" A MERCHANT Stranger ſhall not be im-
" peached for another's Debt, but upon a
" good Cauſe. Merchants of Enemies Coun-
" tries ſhall ſell their Goods in convenient
" Time, and depart.

" ITEM, That no Merchant Stranger be
" impeached for another's Treſpaſs, or for
" another's Debt, whereof he is not Debtor,
" Pledge, nor Mainpernor. Provided always,
" that if our liege People, Merchants, or
" others, be indamaged by any Lords of
" ſtrange Lands, or their Subjects, and the
" ſaid Lords (duly required) fail of Right to
" our ſaid Subjects, we ſhall have the Law of
" Marque, and of taking them again, as hath
" been uſed in Times paſſed, without Fraud
" or Deceit. And in caſe that Debate do riſe
" (which God defend) betwixt Us and any
" Lords of ſtrange Lands, We will not that
" the People and Merchants of the ſaid Lands
" be ſuddenly ſubdued in our ſaid Realm and
" Lands, becauſe of ſuch Debate; but that
" they be warned, and Proclamation thereof
" publiſhed, that they ſhall void the ſaid
" Realm and Lands with their Goods freely,
" within forty Days after the Warning and
" Proclamation ſo made: And that in the
" mean

" mean Time, they be not impeached, nor " let of their Paſſage, or of making their Pro- " fit of the ſame Merchandizes, if they will " ſell them. And in caſe that for default of " Wind, or of Ship, or for Sickneſs, or for " other evident Cauſe, they cannot avoid our " ſaid Realm and Lands within ſo ſhort a " Time, then they ſhall have other forty Days, " or more, if need be, within which they " may paſs conveniently, with ſelling their " Merchandize as aforeſaid."

LASTLY, The prodigious Increaſe of national Commerce, in Conſequence of theſe Proceedings, is an Argument, above all others, in favour of their Utility. For a late Writer hath obſerved,* " That in the twenty eighth " Year of *Edward* III. that is, in the Year 1354. " [remarkable for being the Year after the " above Law was enacted] we have a Record " in the Exchequer, ſhewing the Exports " and Imports, by which it appears, that the " Ballance of our Trade produced 255,214*l.* " 13*s.* 8*d.* which, conſidering the Difference " of Money then and now, is about 737,0211*l.* " 16*s.* 11*d.* as we reckon it at preſent [I be- " lieve it could be made appear to be a " much greater Sum] And yet there is no " Notice taken in this Account, either of Tin " or Lead, or of other ſtaple Commodities, " which

* The *Preceptor*, Voll. II. *Trade and Commerce*, Chap. iii. Page 414.

" which we certainly exported: And yet, all " Things conſidered, this muſt appear a moſt " amazing Proof of the early Profits of our " Commerce." The Remarks of this Author are very juſt: But he ſeems to be at a Loſs, how to account for ſuch a prodigious Balance in our Favour in theſe early Times: Yet I am perſuaded, if he had conſidered the Affair in the Light in which it now appears, he would have found no Difficulty in accounting for it.

UPON the whole therefore, notwithſtanding ſome *Miſtakes* in Commerce, which indeed are not to be wondred at, conſidering theſe early Times, and the Conteſts for the Crown of *France*, which the *Engliſh* Nation impoliticly ſupported, this great Prince mightily encreaſed the Trade of *England*; by which Means he was enabled to bear the Expences of a long conſuming War, and to leave his Kingdom much richer than he found it. He laid the Foundation for great Things: But the unhappy Biaſs of the *Engliſh* was always working againſt Foreigners.

THEREFORE towards the End of his long Reign, when the Hiſtorians deſcribe him, as having deviated very much from his wonted good Conduct, the Mayor and Citizens of *London* renewed their Solicitations at this Juncture, and ſet forth moſt amply the Grievances ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the Admiſſion of

Foreigners. Theſe are ſummed up in their own Words, as follows, * " And whereas, at " the laſt Parliament, holden at *Weſtminſter*, " it was anſwered to them [the Mayor, Alder- " men, and Commonalty of the City of *Lon-* " *don*] that they ſhould declare their Griev- " ances *ſpecially*, and that they ſhould have " good Remedy: Of which Grievances, a- " mongſt divers others, theſe be, That any " Stranger might dwell in the ſaid City, and " keep an Houſe, and be a Broker, and ſell " and buy all Manner of Merchandiſes by Re- " tail; and one Stranger to ſell unto another, " to ſell again, to the great enhancing of the " Prices of Merchandizes, and a *Cauſe to make* " *them remain there more than forty Days:* " Whereas, in Times paſt, no Merchants " Strangers might do any ſuch Thing, con- " trary to the Franchiſes of the ſaid City, be- " fore theſe Times had and uſed; by which " Grievances, the Merchants of the ſaid City " are greatly impoveriſhed, and the Navy im- " paired, and the Secrets of the Land, by the " ſaid Strangers, diſcovered to our Enemies, " by Spies, and other Strangers, into theſe " Houſes received. May it therefore pleaſe " your Majeſty and Council, in this preſent " Parliament, to ordain, That the ſaid Mer- " chants Strangers may be reſtrained in the " Points aforeſaid; and that the ſaid Mayor, " Aldermen, and Commonalty of your ſaid " City

* *Seymour's Survey of* London, Vol. II. Page 314.

" City may enjoy the ſaid Franchiſes, any " Law or Cuſtom, heretofore made unto the " contrary thereof, in any wiſe notwithſtand- " ing."

BUT the King was not ſo much altered from himſelf, as not to ſee through theſe Pretences; and therefore gave the Petitioners little more than kind Words in redreſs of their Grievances. For he ſtill perſevered in his former Sentiments, that he was as good a Judge of what was for the general Advantage of the Kingdom, the Increaſe of the Navy, and the Preſervation of the State, as they were, and had it as much at Heart: And all that he did for them, was to make ſome inconſiderable Conceſſions, conditionally, or rather indeterminately expreſſed, while he denied the main Part of their Suit. This Affair happened in the fiftieth Year of his Reign, and the laſt but one of his Life.

BUT ſo ſoon as the old King was dead, the Mayor and Citizens of *London* addreſſed his Grandſon and Succeſſor, *Richard* II. and met with better Succeſs. For in the very firſt Year of his Reign, he deprived the Foreigners of the Liberty of buying and ſelling of, or to any other Foreigner, within the Precincts of the City of *London*: This was confirmed by an Act of Parliament, made in the ſame Year, as *Seymour* relates; but is not to be found in the Statute

Book. However it is plain, that the Inhabitants of the Cities and Boroughs began to triumph, in Conſequence of a Victory over Foreigners, and practiſed the ſame Outrages and Inſults againſt them, which they had formerly done. To put a Stop to which, two Laws were enacted, one in the ſecond, and the other in the eleventh Year of his Reign, which explain and confirm the ſeveral Statutes made by his Grandfather, *Edward* III. in favour of Foreigners.

BUT as we are not to expect mighty Matters for the Public Good from a Prince of the Character of *Richard* II. ſo we find in the Year 1392. the very Year in which he received ten thouſand Pounds, and two gold Crowns from the City of *London*, by way of Redemption Money for their Charter, that he was ſo mollified with this Sum, opportunely coming in to anſwer his extravagant Expences, as to paſs a Law to repeal the principal Advantages granted by his Grandfather and himſelf to Strangers. After having recited the Act of *Edward* III. with the ſeveral Additions, it proceeds, "Nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as it ſeem-
"eth to our Lord the King, that the ſaid Sta-
"tutes, if they ſhall be *fully holden and exe-*
"*cuted*, ſhall extend to the great Hindrance
"and Damage of the *City of London*, as of
"other Cities, Boroughs, and Towns of this
"Realm, it is ordained, *&c.*" There needs no Comment upon this Part of the Statute; the

the very Words declare, at whoſe Inſtigation the Law was made, and whoſe [*ſuppoſed*] Intereſts it was deſigned to ſerve. This Statute deprived Merchants Strangers of the Benefit of ſelling to another Merchant Stranger, who was to ſell again. It was likewiſe ordained, that no Merchant Stranger ſhould ſell by Retail, but only in Groſs: Nay, Merchants Strangers were not allowed to *put*, that is, to expoſe *to Sale* any Manner of Wares or Merchandiſes, except Livings and Victuals.

BUT ſtill there was a Shadow of Liberty remaining; particularly Merchants Strangers were allowed the Benefit of reſiding in *England* as long as they pleaſed, and of dwelling in Houſes of their own, and being their own Brokers in the Diſpoſal of their Effects. Therefore a Law was obtained the fifth of *Henry* IV. A. D. 1403. c. 9. which ordained, "That all Mer-
"chants Aliens, and Strangers, SHALL SELL
"their Merchandiſes, brought into this Realm,
"*within a Quarter of a Year* next after their
"coming into the ſame; and alſo that the
"Money which ſhall be delivered by Ex-
"change in *England*, be employed upon the
"Commodities of the Realm, within the ſaid
"Realm, upon Pain of Forfeiture of the ſame
"Money; and that no Merchant Alien, nor
"Stranger, ſell *any Manner* of Merchandiſe to
"any other Merchant Alien, or Stranger, up-
"on Pain of Forfeiture of the ſame Merchan-
"diſe.

" diſe. And alſo, it is ordained and eſtabliſh-
" ed, that in every City, Town, and Port
" of the Sea, in *England*, where the ſaid
" Merchants Aliens, or Strangers be, or ſhall
" be repairing, ſufficient Hoſts ſhall be *aſſigned*
" to the ſaid Merchants by the Mayor, She-
" rifs, or Bailifs;—and that the ſaid Mer-
" chants Aliens, and Strangers, ſhall dwell in
" *no other* Place, but with their ſaid Hoſts ſo
" to be aſſigned; and that the ſaid Hoſts, ſo
" to be aſſigned, ſhall take for their Travel in
" the Manner as was accuſtomed in old Time."
By the Tenor of this Law, a Merchant Stranger was not only deprived of the Benefit of ſelling to another Merchant Stranger, who was to ſell again within the Realm, according to the Statute of *Richard* II. mentioned above; but alſo he was reſtrained from ſelling *at all* to Merchants Strangers, though for the Purpoſes of *Exportation:* So that it became a Crime, by the Laws of the Land, to attempt to make this Country the Centre of Trade, and a Magazine for other Nations. And yet, this unhappy *national* Biaſs, joined with the narrow, ſelfiſh Views of Individuals, prevailed ſo ſtrongly, that this very abſurd Clauſe was confirmed again by a Statute made the next Year, the ſixth of *Henry* IV. c. 4. There was indeed a Repeal of the Obligation laid upon Foreigners to ſell their Merchandiſes within a Quarter of a Year after Importation: But particular Care was taken to add, " Saving always, the Fran-
" chiſes

" chiſes and Liberties of the City of *London:*
" And further, Provided always, that the ſaid
" Merchants Aliens, and Strangers, ſhall not
" carry, or *cauſe to be carried*, out of the
" Realm, any Merchandiſes *brought within*
" the Realm by the Merchants Aliens and
" Strangers aforeſaid." This was ſtrengthening the Evil; ſo that even our own Shipping were not to be employed in carrying the Goods of Foreigners from one Country to another.— We ſhall preſently ſee what Uſe the Citizens of *London* made of theſe Statutes.

NOW as theſe Laws were made in the Reign of *Henry* IV. it may be reaſonably aſked, How a Prince ſo politic and attached to his Intereſt, could be induced to paſs them? For it was impoſſible to avoid perceiving, that the Duties and Cuſtoms would be greatly diminiſhed by ſuch Excluſions and Monopolies. And yet perhaps he acted wholly upon the Principles of Self-Intereſt and State Policy in this Affair. For he found it neceſſary to ſtand well with the Citizens of *London*, and to gain the Affections of the People at any Rate. Great Diſcontents then prevailed, on account of his Behaviour to, and ſuppoſed Murder of the depoſed King. A Conſpiracy and a dangerous Inſurrection were actually then on foot. Beſides, he had a favourite Point to be gained, no leſs than the intailing of the Realms of *England* and *France* on his four Sons, which was propoſed

propoſed and carried the Beginning of the next Seſſions of Parliament. But as ſoon as this Point was obtained, his Complaiſance grew leſs; and a Law was paſſed the very ſame Seſſions, to reſtrain the Encroachments of the Citizens of *London*, viz. Anno 7mo *Hen.* IV. A. D. 1405. c. 9. " *Item*, Whereas at the " grievous Complaint made by the Commons " in the ſaid Parliament, it is ſhewed, how " that in old Time it was uſed and accuſtomed, " that as well the Cloth-makers and Drapers " of whatſoever Place of the Realm, repairing " and having Recourſe to the City of *London*, " as other Merchants with divers Merchan- " diſes, as Wine, Iron, Oil, and Wax, and " other Things pertaining to Merchandiſe, ex- " erciſing, repairing, and having Recourſe to " the ſaid City, have bought and ſold in *Groſs*, " as well with *Aliens* as with *Denizens*, of " the Cloths and other Merchandizes afore- " ſaid, at their Will and Pleaſure, paying in " this Behalf only, the Cuſtoms and other De- " voirs thereof, reaſonably due: And never, " in all the ſaid Time, were diſturbed, or in " any Manner hindered, to ſell or buy in " *Groſs* with Merchants, Aliens or Denizens, " of ſuch Cloths and Merchandiſes at their " Will and Pleaſure, but *only to Retail:* And " now *of late*, as well the ſame Cloth-mak- " ers, as other the Merchants aforeſaid, by " the Mayor, Sherifs, Aldermen, Drapers, " and Merchants of *London*, be *daily diſturbed*

" *and*

" *and let* to ſell and buy in the Manner afore-
" ſaid, as well in *Groſs* as in *Retail*, and griev-
" ouſly and continually *conſtrained* to ſell their
" ſaid Cloths and Merchandiſes *only* to the
" Merchants and Inhabitants of the ſaid City,
" to the ſingular Profit and Advantage of them
" of *London*, and alſo to the Damage and Loſs
" of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and
" the Commons of this Realm, as of the ſaid
" Cloth-makers and Merchants ſo grieved, and
" a plain Enſample and Occaſion to ſuch
" Cloth-makers and Merchants ſo grieved, to
" withdraw themſelves from the ſaid City from
" henceforth, if Remedy be not rather pro-
" vided in this Behalf: It is ordained and
" eſtabliſhed, that as well the Drapers and
" Cloth-ſellers, as other Merchants, with
" their ſundry Merchandiſes, ſhall be free to
" ſell in *Groſs* their Cloths, Iron, Oil, and
" Wax, and other their Merchandiſes, as well
" to all the King's liege People, as to the Ci-
" tizens of *London*, notwithſtanding any Fran-
" chiſe or Liberty granted to the contrary."

IT may be greatly queſtioned, whether the City of *London* ever had any Franchiſe or Privilege of this Sort. But the Citizens aſſumed to themſelves ſuch a Prerogative, by conſtruing the Statutes made againſt Aliens and Foreigners, as extending alſo to exclude Natives of the Realm, if *not free* of their City. For they have ever conſidered all others, tho'

the King's natural born Subjects, in the Light of Foreigners; and give them this very Appellation in their City-Laws.

BUT if this Act seemed to open a Door for Foreigners to enter in again, effectual Care was taken, by Statutes made in the following Reigns, to shut it up. One of these Acts proceeded so far as to ordain, "That no *English-*"*man* shall within this Realm sell, or cause to "be sold hereafter, to any Merchant Alien, "any Manner of Merchandises, but only for "ready Payment in hand, or else in Merchan-"dises for Merchandises, to be paid and con-"tented in hand, upon Pain of Forfeiture of "the same." This Law was made, A. D. 1429. and the Eighth of *Henry* VI. c. 24. but being of a Nature too absurd and extravagant to be put in Practice, was repealed the following Sessions.

IT is a Matter of no small Astonishment, that any Foreigners should remain, or come into the Kingdom, after such incessant Pains to drive and keep them out. But, as if Providence had decreed we *should* be a TRADING Nation, in spite of all Endeavours to the contrary, they rather encreased than diminished by these Oppressions;—if the Accounts given in the Preamble of the famous Statute of *Richard* III. are to be credited. This bloody Tyrant had rendered himself extremely odious by his Usurpation

Uſurpation and Barbarities. But as he well underſtood the *Foible* of the *Engliſh*, he ſought their Reconciliation by paſſing a very *popular* Act againſt Foreigners. This Statute was made in the firſt Parliament after his Acceſſion, principally to gratify the Citizens of *London*; and ſets forth, " That our Sovereign Lord the " King, upon Petition made to him, in his " ſaid Parliament, by the Commons of *Eng-* " *land*, hath conceived and underſtood, That " whereas Merchants Strangers, of the Na- " tion of *Italy*, as *Venetians*, *Florentines*, *Apu-* " *lians*, *Cicilians*, *Lucaners*, *Catelians*, and " other of the ſame Nation, in great Number " do inhabit and keep Houſes, as well in the " City of *London*, as in other Cities and Bo- " roughs within this his Realm, and do take " Warehouſes and Cellars, and therein put " their Wares and Merchandiſes, which they " bring into this ſaid Realm; and them, in " the ſaid Cellars and Warehouſes, deceitfully " do pack, mingle, and keep the ſame, till " ſuch Time the Prices thereof be greatly en- " hanced, for their great Lucre; and the ſame " Merchandiſes and Wares they then ſell to " all Manner of People, as well within the " Ports where they bring the ſaid Wares and " Merchandiſes, as to other divers and many " Places within this Realm, as well by Retail " as otherwiſe: And alſo do buy in the ſaid " Ports and other Places, at their own Liberty, " the Commodities of this Realm, and ſell the

" ſame again at their Pleaſure, within the " ſame, as commonly and freely as any of the " King's liege People doth, and do not em- " ploy a great Part of the Money, coming " thereof, upon the Commodities of this " Realm; but make it over the Sea by Ex- " change to divers Countries, to the King's " great Damage in Loſs of his Cuſtoms, and " to the great Impoveriſhing of his ſaid Sub- " jects, of whom they ſhould buy the Com- " modities of this Realm.

" II. AND the ſame Merchants of *Italy*, " and other Merchants Strangers, be *Hoſts*, " and take to them People of other Nations, " and be with them daily; and do buy, ſell, " and make privy and ſecret Contracts and " Bargains with the ſame People, to their " great Increaſe and Profit, and to the impor- " tune Damage of the King's ſaid Subjects, " and contrary to divers Statutes in this Caſe " provided and ordained.

" III. ALSO, the ſaid Merchants of *Italy* " do buy, in divers Places within this Realm, " a great Quantity of Wool, and *Woollen Cloth*, " and other Merchandiſes, of the King's Sub- " jects; and Part thereof they ſell again to the " ſaid Subjects, and other within this Realm, " to their great Advantage; and much of the " ſaid Wools they do *deliver to Cloth-makers*, " thereof to *make Cloth* at their Pleaſure.

" IV. MORE-

" IV. MOREOVER, a great Number of Artificers, and other Strangers, not born under the King's Obeyſance, do daily reſort " and repair to the City of *London*, and to " other Cities, Boroughs, and Towns of the " ſaid Realm, and much more than they were " wont to do in Times paſt; and inhabit by " themſelves, in the ſaid Realm, with their " Wives, Children, and Houſhold, and will " not take upon them any laborious Occupation, as going to Plow and Cart, and other " like Buſineſs, but uſe the making of Cloth, " and other handicraft and eaſy Occupations; " and bring and convey, from the Parts beyond the Sea, great Subſtance of Wares and " Merchandiſes to Fairs and Markets, and all " other Places of this Realm, at their Pleaſure, and there ſell the ſame, as well by Retail as otherwiſe, as freely as any of the " King's Subjects uſed to do, to the great Damage and Impoveriſhment of the King's " ſaid Subjects; and will in no wiſe ſuffer nor " take any of the King's ſaid Subjects to work " with them, but they take only, into their " Service, People born in their own Country; " whereby the King's ſaid Subjects, *for Lack* " *of Occupation, fall into Idleneſs, and be* " *Thieves, Beggars, Vagabonds, and People of* " *vicious Living*, to the great Perturbance both " of the King, and all his Realm. And when " the Merchants, Artificers, and Strangers,

" before

" before rehearſed, have gained within this " Realm, by Buying and Selling, and by ſuch " eaſy Occupations and Handicrafts, great " Subſtance of Goods: With the ſame Sub- " ſtance they go out of the ſaid Realm, to " ſuch Parts beyond the Sea as them liketh " beſt, and there ſpend the ſame Goods often- " times among the King's Adverſaries and " Enemies, to the great Damage of our So- " vereign Lord the King and his Subjects, and " Impoveriſhment of this Realm, and the " Commons of the ſame: And ſo by the " Occaſion of the Premiſes, the Subſtance of " the Inhabitants in the ſaid Cities, Boroughs " and Towns, now of late hath fallen, and " daily doth fall into great Poverty and De- " cay, to their great undoing, unleſs the King's " gracious Aid be to them in this Behalf " ſhewed."

THE abſurd Suggeſtions in this Preamble, That a free Trade cauſes a Monopoly, and that the Buying our own Wool, and manufacturing it into Cloth at Home, tends to impoveriſh a Country, ſeem naturally to point out this Inference,—That if the Force of Prejudice in our Anceſtors was ſo ſtrong, as to make them believe Propoſitions, not only contradictory to common Senſe, but alſo ſo palpably againſt their own Intereſt, We ſhould be the more cautious that our Judgments be not biaſſed by any popular Cry, nor by any Remains

mains of this national Foible, whenever Queſtions relating to the Naturalization of Foreigners come upon the Carpet. Beſides, Suppoſe we allow it to be true, that the Merchants Strangers did leave the Kingdom, after they had acquired Riches in it,—Whom were the *Engliſh* to blame, but themſelves, as they had taken ſuch uncommon Pains to render this Country an unſafe and diſagreeable Place for Strangers to reſide in? And was it not natural for Foreigners to aſſociate together, while they ſtaid here, as they were ſo hated and ill-uſed by the Natives?

HOWEVER, a Law was made to redreſs theſe imaginary Grievances: A Stranger was never to ſell by Retail, nor to be an Hoſt or Landlord to any other, but to a Fellow-Countryman: Aliens were to ſell their Merchandiſes within *eight* Months after their Arrival, and to lay out the Money, ſo received, in buying the Commodities of the Country;—yet they were not allowed to buy or ſell Wool, or Woollen Cloth, nor to *make Wool into Cloth*, nor *deliver Wool to others for that Purpoſe*; nor were even the King's natural born Subjects to make Cloth for *Aliens*, under Pain of Forfeiture of the ſaid Cloth: Aliens were to take no Apprentices or Servants, but the King's natural born Subjects; and if any Alien Artificers, or Handicraftſmen, ſhould come into the Realm, after a limited Time, they were to return into their own

own Country, or ſubmit to become Servants to the *Engliſh* of the like Occupation.

YET as Neceſſity is always ingenious, the Strangers found Means to elude a great Part of theſe Penalties, by getting themſelves made Denizens by Virtue of the King's Prerogative. Therefore in the Beginning of the next Reign, (*Henry* VII.) as this was looked upon a favourable Juncture, Application was made, and a Bill obtained, That if Strangers were made Denizens, they were to reap no Privileges from that Grant.

AND now, one would think, the *Engliſh* had gained a complete Victory over Foreigners. Let us ſee therefore, What were the mighty Conſequences? All the trading Parts of the Kingdom had joined with the Citizens of *London* againſt the *common Enemy*. But when he was ſubdued, did Trade raiſe its drooping Head? Did Wealth and Plenty, the natural Conſequences of Commerce, follow on this Expulſion of thoſe, who were before repreſented as taking the Bread out of *the Mouths of the Natives?* No, the Event verified what plain, unbiaſſed common Senſe would have foretold, that an Encreaſe of Trade neither would, nor could follow ſuch an Expulſion. For the ſame narrow, ſelfiſh way of Thinking, that then prevailed in *London*, the greateſt trading City in the Kingdom, againſt Foreigners buying

ing even our own manufactured Commodities, as naturally, and upon the ſame Principles, induced them to engroſs the whole Trade of the Kingdom to themſelves; as all greater Bodies will do, where Trade is not free. And then the ſame Pretences were alledged againſt the Out-Ports, as the Inhabitants of the Out-Ports, duped by the Artifice and Example of the *Londoners*, had formerly alledged againſt Foreigners. They then began to be ſenſible of an Evil, which they would not feel before. Therefore they petitioned the Parliament for Redreſs; and indeed it was high Time they ſhould do ſo, ſince no Merchant of the Out-Ports was permitted to trade to *Spain*, *Portugal*, *France*, *Ireland*, *Venice*, *Dantzick*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, and the Sea Coaſts of *Germany*, unleſs he paid 20*l.* ſterling to the Fellowſhip and Merchants of *London:* A great Sum in thoſe Days, eſpecially to a Beginner! All this, we may ſuppoſe, was done with a Pretence to keep up the Credit of our Commodities in foreign Markets, and to ſupply them with proper Sortments of Goods; the uſual, though a very ſenſeleſs Plea, for all Monopolies: But the real Conſequence was, as is ſet forth in the Preamble to the Statute, expreſly made to prevent this Encroachment, 19 *Hen.* VII. *c.* 6. " That all Merchants, not being of the ſame " Fellowſhip and Confederacy, *withdraw* " themſelves from the ſaid Marts [of *Spain*, " *Portugal*, *France*, &c.] whereby the Wool-

" len Cloth of this Realm, *which is one of the* " *greateſt Commodities of the ſame*, by making " whereof the King's true Subjects be put in " Occupation, *and the poor People have moſt* " *univerſally their Living*, and alſo other di- " vers Commodities of divers and ſeveral Parts " of this ſame Realm, is not ſold nor uttered, " as it hath been in Times paſt: But for *lack* " *of Utterance* for the ſame in divers Parts, " where ſuch Cloths be made, they be *con-* " *veyed* to *London*, where they be ſold for un- " der the Price they be worth, and that they " coſt the Makers of the ſame; and at other " Times, they be lent to long Days, and the " Money thereof, at divers Times never paid. " And over that, the Commodities and Mer- " chandiſes of thoſe Parts, which the ſaid Fel- " lowſhip Merchants of *London*, and other " their Confederates, bring into this Land, is " ſold to your ſaid Complainants, and others, " the King's true Subjects, at ſo DEAR AND " HIGH EXCEEDING *Price*, that the Buyer of " the ſame cannot live thereupon: By reaſon " whereof, *all the Cities, Towns, and Boroughs* " of this Realm, in effect be *fallen into great* " *Poverty, Ruin, and Decay.*"

HERE is a very different Account given of the Cauſes of depopulating the Cities, Towns, and Villages, from that ſet forth before by the *Londoners:* And the Reader is to judge, which hath the Probability of being the *true one.* The

Foreigners

Foreigners were now driven out: Here is no Complaint brought againſt *them*; and yet the Evil was every Day encreaſing. Nay, from the firſt Time Foreigners were put under ſuch Reſtraints and Diſcouragements, the Country became apparently thinner of Inhabitants. And the Diminution of Inhabitants, much about this Juncture, is a Circumſtance taken notice of by all Hiſtorians, and even by the Statute Book. For Laws were made from Time to Time, with an Intent to people the Country again. It was ordained, that all antient dwelling Houſes, and Houſes of Huſbandry, ſhould be kept in good Repair: No Arable Land was permitted to be converted into Paſture: The Number of Farms, which any Perſon was ſuffered to hold, was limited, as was alſo the Number of Sheep he was allowed to keep: Upon which laſt Article, I remember to have read ſomewhere in Biſhop *Latimer*, that the Sheep, tho' mild Animals, had devoured more Men in *England*, than the moſt ravenous Beaſts of Prey. — He meant, that Agriculture was neglected, the Towns and Villages forſaken, and nothing to be ſeen, but a few Shepherds with large Flocks of Sheep.

IT is eaſy to perceive, that theſe Laws did not reach the Root of the Evil, and could have very little Effect in removing the real Cauſe of Complaint. But the *Engliſh* were reſolved to try all Expedients, rather than admit the

Perſons, againſt whom the national Prejudice was raiſed ſo high. Nay, in the very midſt of the Calamities of the Kingdom, the Citizens of *London* gave a new Specimen of their hereditary Hatred againſt the few Foreigners that remained, and obtained a ſevere Decree in the Star-Chamber, the twenty firſt of *Henry* VIII. to put all the penal Laws in Force againſt them. They took Care to exaggerate every Circumſtance, and repreſented the Realm to be overrun with foreign Manufacturers; which, if true, muſt have contradicted all that had been ſaid before, concerning the general Decay of Trade, the Depopulation of the Towns and Villages, and the running into Decay of the Farm Houſes. But the Truth is, they longed to recover the Monopoly they had loſt by the nineteenth of *Henry* VII. *c.* 6. and therefore began, as uſual, with making their firſt Attack upon Foreigners or Aliens; in which they were ſure to do an acceptable Thing to the reſt of the Kingdom. Their Views will beſt appear, by producing ſome of the Articles of their *lamentable Bill of Complaint* (theſe are their very Words) *viz.* " That Aliens, not " born within the King's Obeyſance, exported " Bacon, Cheeſe, Powdered Beef, Mutton, " and other Commodities of this Realm;— " and that by the continual Recourſe of Stran- " gers Handicraftſmen, great Portions of Corn " and Victual, grown and bred within the " Realm, were conſumed." To which, and

the

the like *deſtructive* Cauſes, they imputed many tragical Events; ſuch as that "the *Engliſh* "Artificers, for lack of Occupation, be con- "ſtrained to live in Idleneſs, by Occaſion "whereof they do continually fall to Theft, "Murder, and other great Offences, and con- "ſequently, in great Numbers be put to Death "by the Laws." And with equal Juſtice, the great Numbers condemned at preſent in every Seſſions at the *Old Bailey*, may aſcribe their Deaths to the ſame Cauſe:——And probably would have done it, if the Opponents of the late Naturalization Bill had been ſo happy as to have ſuggeſted the Thought to them.

THUS Things went on, from bad to worſe, till there were ſcarce any *Remains* of the Cloathing Trade left in *England*. Foreigners being expelled, and no Recruits ſuffered to come in, the native *Engliſh* ſoon commenced Monopoliſts, and roſe the Price of their Manufactures upon their Fellow Subjects, which was attended with three very fatal Conſequences, *viz.* 1. The Cloth, imported from abroad, could be had at a cheaper Rate than what was made at home; and whoſoever ſells cheapeſt, be he Foreigner or Native, will always have the Preference at Market. 2. The *Engliſh* Journeymen, and lower Manufacturers, who had been the moſt noiſy in their Clamours againſt Foreigners, being now deſtitute of Work at home, were glad to retire to Foreign Countries,

tries to ſeek for Employment. They then found to their Coſt, that the *Expulſion* of Foreigners was the Cauſe of taking the *Bread out of their Mouths*, not the *Admiſſion* of them. 3. The Conſumption of Proviſions growing leſs every Day on theſe Accounts, there was no Encouragement to the Farmers and the landed Gentlemen to raiſe any Thing, but numerous Flocks of Sheep, which they were ſure would turn to good Account by the Demand for Wool in *Flanders*.

AND ſo great was the Decay of the Woollen, and all other Manufactures, that the very Remembrance ſeems to have been loſt among us. For moſt Perſons uſually ſuppoſe, that theſe Arts had gained little or no Footing in *England*, till the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; whereas, in fact, ſhe was only the *Reviver* of them, by purſuing, or rather by *not oppoſing* the Plan laid down ſo long before, by *Edward* III. And it hath been fully ſhewn, in the Courſe of this Narrative, that many Years before her Reign, the Woollen Manufacture had been conſidered as the *ſtaple* Commodity of the Kingdom, which employed vaſt Numbers of People in the ſeveral Branches of it.

BUT having brought Matters to this Period, I muſt here obſerve, that we owed the Revival of our Mercantile Knowledge, and that we ought to aſcribe the great Progreſs which hath

hath been made in the Arts of Commerce, more to the Perſecution by the Duke *D'Alva*, who acted upon Principles, in all reſpects oppoſite to the former Counts of *Flanders*, than to any ſound Policy of the *Engliſh* Nation. For though Queen *Elizabeth*, and before her, King *Edward* VI. did really receive the Refugees in an hoſpitable Manner, yet it doth not appear, that the Majority of the Kingdom were in a right Diſpoſition to have *invited* them over, as *foreign* Workmen and Artificers. Indeed, an Increaſe of Trade was the *Conſequence* of their coming, but that did not ſeem to be the *National* End aimed at in receiving them. The Reformation was then in its Infancy, and its Friends were deſirous of having their Hands ſtrengthened by the Acceſſion of foreign Proteſtants; many of whom were Men of Letters, and greatly ſerviceable in carrying on the Work of the Reformation. The Government likewiſe had every Thing to fear, both from the Murmurs and Counſels of the Papiſts at home, and the Power of the Pope abroad; and was glad of this Opportunity of encreaſing the Number of Subjects, whoſe Principles and Intereſt were thoroughly connected with it. The long Wars, and bloody Perſecutions in the *Netherlands*, *drove* the People to ſeek for Shelter in *England*, a Country they would hardly have thought of retiring to (as knowing the inherent Antipathy of the Natives againſt Strangers, eſpecially Artiſans, Merchants,

chants, and Manufacturers) if they could have made another Choice. But *Germany* and *France* were, at that Juncture, much in the ſame Circumſtances with themſelves; ſo that this Iſland was the only ſure Place of Refuge, and near at hand. Therefore many thouſands of Families came over during this long Reign, many of whoſe Deſcendants are, at this Day, as ſtrongly leavened with an Averſion to Foreigners, as the *Engliſh* were againſt their Forefathers. But it is very obſervable, that not one general Naturalization Bill paſt during this whole Reign, and not many private ones; which muſt ſeem very extraordinary, conſidering the ſevere Laws then in being, againſt Alien Merchants and Mechanicks: And I cannot otherwiſe account for ſuch a Conduct, than by ſuppoſing, that this politick Princeſs found an happy Expedient to admit Foreigners, without diſguſting the People by a general Naturalization. Whether this was done by making the famous Law againſt Informers,—or by giving Orders to the Judges not to receive Informations (a Thing practiſed in ſome Caſes in thoſe Times) —— or by permitting the Freemen and Burgeſſes of their reſpective Cities and Towns, to make Laws for the cramping and confining of Trade, in order to keep them in good Humour (of which Laws many very abſurd ones were made in her Reign) — or by Letters of Denization, —— or by what other Method it was brought about, I know not.

not. However, one Thing is clear, that the Citizens of *London* either found no Encouragement to renew their Complaints, or, if they ventured to renew them, they were not regarded. For there is no publick Inſtance upon Record, of any Steps taken to moleſt foreign Artificers during this long Reign.

BUT after *James* I. came to the Throne, the Citizens of *London*, who never loſt Sight of this Point, renewed their Petitions with much Earneſtneſs. The King ſays,* in the ſeveral Commiſſions granted for enquiring into the Affair, "That he had been OFTEN ſolicited "with MUCH Importunity by his good and "loving Subjects, the Citizens of *London*, to "take the Laws and Statutes, enacted againſt "Foreigners, into his Princely Conſideration." Which, by the Way, is a ſtrong Intimation, *that the Execution of them had been ſuſpended before.* The Rules and Orders, made in Conſequence of theſe Solicitations, were, as might be expected, quite oppoſite to the Nature of a free, open, and extenſive Trade. But I believe they did not fully anſwer the Hopes of the Petitioners; and there were ſome unlucky Obſervations made upon the Matter, which might have proved fatal to their Schemes, had the Buſineſs of Commerce been rightly underſtood, or duly attended to. In the Commiſſion, dated the 5th of *June*, 1622. His Majeſty ſaith,

* *Rymer's Fœd.* Vol. XVII. Page 318, 372, 437.

" He would endeavour to keep such a due " Temperament between the Interests of the " Complainants, and that of Foreigners, that " the latter should have no Cause to fear be- " ing disturbed in their *industrious* and *sedulous* " Courses, whereof he wished *his own People* " would take *Example*." But this seeming Indulgence ends in real Oppression, as may be seen by the two succeeding Clauses, Page 374, and 375. " And farther, Our Will and Plea- " sure is, that every such Stranger born, De- " nizen or not Denizen; or others born of Pa- " rents Strangers, not having served their Ap- " prenticehoods, as aforesaid, who either use " any manual or handicraft Trade, or the buy- " ing or selling of the home Commodities of " our Kingdom, shall pay to our Use, as a " *thankful Acknowledgment* of our Royal Fa- " vour, such Rates and Payments, out of their " Earnings or Gains, to be distributed and " disposed of for the Ease and Comfort of our " own People, as We shall *think fit*, as shall " be directed by a Schedule, to be subscribed " by our own Hand; or, in Default thereof, " such *Rates* or *Payments*, as our said Com- " missioners, under their Hands, or under the " Hands of Three of them, shall set down: " Whereby, our natural born Subjects may " discern, that We put a proportionable Dif- " ference between them and the Strangers, " if their own *Want of Industry*, *or honest* " *Workmanship*, be not the *Impediment*.

" NEVER-

" NEVERTHELESS, our Pleaſure and Com-
" mand is, that this Favour, which We ſhall
" thus vouchſafe to extend to ſuch Strangers,
" who have ſettled themſelves and their Fa-
" milies in this our Realm already; or to ſuch,
" who by their Service, according to our Laws,
" ſhall hereafter deſerve the like Favour, ſhall
" not draw hither, or continue here, any en-
" creaſing Number of Maſterleſs Men of han-
" dicraft Trades, to the extreme Hurt both
" of the *Engliſh* and Strangers; but that ſuch
" either *ſpeedily return* into their own Coun-
" tries, or put themſelves to work as *hired Ser-*
" *vants*, according to the true Meaning of
" our Laws, or elſe ſhall undergo the *Severity*
" of our *Laws*, provided, and in *force* againſt
" them."

THEN comes a third, in relation to the perſecuted *French* Proteſtants, which is too curious to be omitted; and the Reader will not paſs it over, without making his own Remarks upon it.

" NOTWITHSTANDING, our Will and Plea-
' ſure is, that unto ſuch of the *French* Na-
' tion, who by reaſon of the late Troubles in
' that Kingdom [when there was a League on
' Foot to extirpate all the Proteſtants] have
' had their Refuge hither, there ſhall be ſhew-
' ed ſuch Favour, beyond the Proportion of

" other Strangers, as our Commiſſioners ſhall " *think fit*, if, within a convenient Time, af- " ter theſe Troubles ſhall be over-blown, they " *ſhall return into their own Country again.*"

THUS ſtood the Matter in the Reign of King *James* I. — The deep-rooted national Prejudice, joined to a *graſping* Deſire of Monopoly, ſpurred on the *Engliſh*, eſpecially the Citizens of *London*, to ſeek the Expulſion of all Foreigners concerned in Commerce, and to bar up the Way againſt their entering in for the future. The Power likewiſe of granting Monopolies, as well as the Payments made for ſuch excluſive Privileges, ſuited the Taſte, and the Circumſtances of that Court, fond of Prerogative, and in Want of Money.

BUT it deſerves the higheſt Attention, that hitherto *not one Word* was ſuggeſted, that the Church of *England*, by Law eſtabliſhed, would be *endangered* by the Admiſſion of foreign Proteſtants. This was a NEW TOPICK, never heard of till * Archbiſhop *Laud* began to gain Aſcendency in the *Engliſh* Councils.

IT is ſomewhat ſtrange, that from the Beginning of the Reign of King *Edward* VI. to this Period, not one Friend could be found, not one faithful Biſhop, Paſtor, or true Son of the Church, to apprize her of the Danger thus hanging

* See *Heylin*'s Life of Archbiſhop *Laud*.

hanging over her for the Space of near one hundred Years. But the Truth is, the foreign Proteſtants were never conſidered in the Light of *Enemies* to our Church, till his Time. The Church of *England* herſelf had been formed upon the Plan of the Confeſſion of *Augſbourg*; ſome of the Articles and Homilies being, in a Manner, *literal Tranſlations* from this Confeſſion, and the other Writings of that great Divine *Melancthon*. The Biſhops and Martyrs, *Hooper* and *Latimer*, took whole Paſſages out of his Works. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* often importuned him to come into *England*, to help forward the good Work of the Reformation. And indeed, moſt of the Books publiſhed at that Time, were *Tranſlations* from the *German* Divines. *Martin Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* were the two Perſons pitched upon by the Archbiſhop himſelf, the Father of the *Engliſh* Reformation, to be the King's Profeſſors of Divinity in the two Univerſities. And when it was propoſed to make ſome Alterations in the Common Prayer Book of King *Edward* VI. *Bucer* was principally conſulted; in relation to which Affair, Biſhop *Burnett* obſerves, * "That the moſt material Things, "which *Bucer* excepted to, were corrected:" So great a Deference was paid to his Judgment; and we may plainly perceive, by comparing the preſent, with the former Book of Common Prayer, that our excellent Liturgy owes

* Vol. II. 4th Edit. Page 147.

owes much of its preſent Perfection to his Counſels. Much about the ſame Time, he wrote a Book for the young King's own Uſe, entitled, * *Concerning the Kingdom of Chriſt*; which principally treated of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, the good Government and external Polity of the Church. About a Year afterwards, *Bucer* died; † "In whom *Cranmer* "loſt a Friend, on whoſe Aſſiſtance he had "depended much, in what remained yet to "be done. He was, by Order of *Cranmer* "and Sir *John Cheek*, buried with the higheſt "Solemnities that could be deviſed, to expreſs "the Value the Univerſity had for him. The "Vice-Chancellor, and all the Graduates; "and the Mayor, and all the Town, accom-"panied his Funeral to St *Mary*'s, where, af-"ter Prayers, *Haddon*, the Univerſity Orator, "made ſuch a Speech concerning him, and "pronounced it with that Affection, that al-"moſt the whole Aſſembly ſhed Tears.— "Next, ‡ Dr *Parker*, that had been his "moſt intimate Friend, made an *Engliſh* Ser-"mon in his Praiſe, and concerning the Sor-"rowing for our departed Friends. And the "Day following, Dr *Redmayn*, then Maſter "of *Trinity College*, made another Sermon "concerning Death; and in it, gave a full "Account of *Bucer*'s Life and Death. He "particularly

* *Burnett*'s Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. Page 148. † Page 155. ‡ The ſame, I ſuppoſe, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

" particularly commended the great Sweetneſs " of his Temper to all, but remarkably to " thoſe who differed from him.——All the " Univerſity that were eminent either in *Greek* " or *Latin* Poetry, did adorn his Coffin with " Epitaphs, in which they expreſſed a very " extraordinary Senſe of their Loſs."

MOREOVER, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, Biſhop *Jewel*,* the Champion of the Church of *England*, and the Biſhops *Horn*, *Grindall*, and *Parkhurſt*, together with many of our principal Clergy, conſulted frequently with *Bullenger* and *Gualter*, eminent Divines of the Church of *Switzerland*, concerning the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Church, and requeſted their Advice and Direction in the moſt preſſing Difficulties.

AND to mention only one Inſtance more§, King *James* I. preferred the elder *Caſaubon*, a Name which doth Honour to the Church of *England*, to Eccleſiaſtical Dignities in the Metropolitan Church of *Canterbury*. This elder *Caſaubon* had alſo a Penſion of 300 *l.* a Year aſſigned him, by a ſpecial Warrant from the King: The Tenor of which is ſo much to our preſent Purpoſe, that I ſhall beg Leave to inſert the following Paſſage.

James,

* *Burnett*'s Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. III. Collection of Records. § *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Tom. XVI. Page 710.

" *James*, by the Grace of God, *&c.*

" As our Progenitors have heretofore been " careful to call into their Realm Perſons of " eminent Learning, *agreeing in Profeſſion of* " *Religion with the Church of* England, and " here to make Uſe of them for the Further- " ance of Religion and Learning among their " People; as namely, *Paulus Fagius*, *Martin* " *Bucer*, *Peter Martyr*, *and others*; ſo have We, " in regard of the ſingular Learning of *Iſaac* " *Caſaubon*, and of his Concurrence with Us, " and the *Church of* England, *in Profeſſion of* " *Religion*, invited him out of *France* into " this our Realm, here to make his Abode, " and to be uſed by Us, as We ſhall ſee Cauſe " *for the Service of the Church.*"

UPON the whole, therefore, let the impartial Reader judge concerning the Merits of this Cauſe. The three Princes *Edward* VI. Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* I. the Archbiſhops and Biſhops *Cranmer*, *Holgat*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, *Hooper*, *Poinet*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, *Taylor*, *Harley*, *Bird*, *Buſh*, *Ferrar*, *Barlow*, *Parker*, *Jewel*, *Horn*, *Grindal*, *Parkhurſt*, &c. — likewiſe the Heads of the two Univerſities, with a Multitude of the Dignitaries and principal Clergy of the Church of *England*, unanimouſly ſhewed in all their Proceedings, That they looked upon the foreign Proteſtant Churches

as

as *concurring in Profeſſion of Religion with the Church of* England. — Can we imagine, that thoſe eminent Guardians and Fathers of our Church, many of them Confeſſors and Martyrs for its ſake, were defective in Zeal, — or did not know, what were the Doctrines and Conſtitution of a Church, which, under Chriſt, they themſelves had founded? Much more might be ſaid: — But I am ſorry there is a Neceſſity of ſaying ſo much.

AFTER the Revolution, the Principles of *Commerce* and *Government* were better underſtood, than in former Times. The Writings of Sir *Francis Bacon*, Sir *William Petty*, Sir *William Temple*, Sir *Joſiah Child*, *Algernoon Sidney* Eſq; and other great Men, had contributed much to cure the Nation of their old Averſion to Foreigners, eſpecially to the moſt *uſeful Part* of them, *Merchants and Mechanicks*. And the Dangers of *Popery*, with which Men were threatned in the preceding Reign, had diſpoſed them to think more favourably of their Proteſtant Brethren abroad. But another Evil ſprung up to counterbalance this Good. For the *diſaffected* Party, who wanted to ſubvert the Revolution, could vent their Poiſon with Impunity, by declaiming againſt Foreigners: — In which they were ſure of being acceptable to the *Engliſh* Populace; of whoſe Prejudices upon this Point they failed not to make the utmoſt Advantage, and upon

all Occaſions took great Pains to render this popular Clamour ſubſervient to the pernicious Deſign of deſtroying the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment. The Prince on the Throne, though deſcended from the Blood Royal of *England*, was a Foreigner by Birth. And the Acclamations he at firſt received from Men of all Ranks and Conditions, for ſaving the Nation from Popery and arbitrary Power, were ſoon turned by many into Libels and Invectives. Even in the Senate Houſe, a * Perſon was found, who had the Decency to propoſe to *kick all the Foreigners out of the Nation.* This polite Expreſſion hath been, *of late*, quoted with ſuch Applauſe by Perſons of the *ſame Stamp*, and echoed throughout the Kingdom in ſuch a Manner, as if he deſerved to have a Statue erected to his Memory, for the Service he had done his Country.——He was the Repreſentative of the City of *Briſtol:* I ſhall therefore take the Liberty to give an Inſtance of his great Capacity as a Legiſlator, and Knowledge in Commerce as a Merchant;—and will leave his *private* Character to his Friends to record, if they think it will be of Advantage to his Memory, or their own Cauſe, to do it.

MOST of the Lands in *Somerſetſhire*, and the lower Parts of *Glouceſterſhire*, are fitted by Nature for feeding great Numbers of Cattle, during

* Sir *John Knight*, Member for *Briſtol* in ſeveral Parliaments.

during the Summer Seaſon. And long Experience had proved the Utility of importing lean Cattle from *Ireland*, early in the Spring, for the Benefit of the Summer Feeding. But this warm Patriot, whoſe Zeal againſt Foreigners was truly *Engliſh*, took it into his wiſe Head to think, that this beneficial Branch of Commerce ought to be entirely put an End to; his Reaſon was, Becauſe the IRISH received Advantage by it;—though the Advantage to *England* was much more extenſive and conſiderable. For, by the Way, it muſt be obſerved, that tho' three Parts in four of the Gentlemen of *Landed* Eſtates in *Ireland*, are really the *Deſcendants* of the *Engliſh*, ſettled in that Kingdom; yet we aſſume to ourſelves the Prerogative of ſtiling them *Iriſh*, treating them as Foreigners, and a People whoſe Intereſts are *not connected* with ours; nay, as if *our Welfare depended on their Depreſſion and Impoveriſhment*. Therefore in the Warmth of his noiſy Zeal, this able Patriot got one Bill to paſs into a Law, and then another, to prohibit the Importation of *Iriſh* lean Cattle; and at laſt ſucceeded in his hopeful Project.——The *Iriſh* could no longer bring them into *England*; but what were they to do with them? Why, truly, either to knock them on the Head, lean as they were, or to fatten them for the Slaughter Houſe. They choſe the latter; and then the *whole Stream* of the Victualling Trade was turned into another Channel: The Conſequence

ſequence of which was, that the City of *Briſtol* (in which before center'd all the Profits ariſing from the Hides, Leather, Tallow, the Curing, Conſumption, and Exportation of Proviſions, Freight, Rent of Lands, *&c. &c.*) could no longer even victual the Ships ſailing from its own Port, ſo cheap as could be done at *Cork*. Thus did this doughty Champion for *England*, this Hero againſt Foreigners, to uſe his own decent Phraſe, intend a Blow at the *Iriſh*, but ſo miſerably took his Aim, that he k—k'd his own Conſtituents. Men of wiſer and cooler Heads oppoſed this raſh Attempt,* and foretold the Conſequence, both to the City of *Briſtol*, and the neighbouring Counties. But it is the Characteriſtick of Perſons of his Turn, to ruſh Headlong into Things they leaſt underſtand, and to think, that if they can but obtain a Law upon their own narrow Views, it muſt be obeyed by all the World. For how dare *Foreigners* to think of making Repriſals againſt an *Engliſh* Law? The intelligent Reader will readily forgive my not entering into more Particulars of this famous Oration;—lately reprinted, only to prove, that the Prejudices and Folly of ſome People are not to be removed by Experience itſelf.

As

* If the preſent Contagion among the Cattle ſhould ſpread into the Weſt of *England*, the Inhabitants would be in the moſt deplorable Condition, as they cannot repair their Loſs by the Importation of Cattle from *Ireland*: This would have been the moſt commodious Reſource; but this is prohibited.

AS to the Topick of PARTY AND DISAFFECTION, the † little Tract, hereunto annexed, will beſt ſhew the Sentiments and Reaſonings of the Author upon that Matter. This Piece was firſt publiſhed during the Height of the late Rebellion; and I am willing to leave it to the impartial and thinking Part of Mankind, for whoſe Uſe it was then written, to determine concerning it.

IN the Reign of Queen *Ann*, there ſeemed to have been a Mixture of four diſtinct Principles in the Oppoſition made to the Naturalizing of foreign Proteſtants, *viz.* The *inbred* National Averſion—The narrow Monopolizing Views of *ſhort Sighted* Tradeſmen—*Superſtitious* Fears about the Danger of the Church—And the latent Schemes of the *diſaffected* Party; each of which had their reſpective Influences, and diſpoſed different Perſons to unite in one common Point.

BUT even this Coalition of Biaſſes and Prepoſſeſſions would hardly have ſucceeded, had there not been ſome *further Art* made uſe of. —The Gentlemen of *Landed* Eſtates were taught to believe, that their Intereſt was diſtinct from, and even oppoſite to the Commercial Intereſts of the Kingdom. And the little, low, unmeaning Jealouſy, ſometimes ſubſiſting between the Country Gentleman and the Merchant,

† Annexed to Part II.

Merchant, to the Prejudice and Diſhonour of both, was now blown up into open Hoſtilities. Schemes were ſet on foot to *leſſen* the National Commerce, which the Country Gentlemen unhappily conſidered as a worthy Project, calculated to ſupport their Grandeur and Diſtinction, and to humble the ſaucy Merchant. The Trade to *Portugal* was treated with *Diſdain*; tho' it is the Means of giving Bread to ſo many Hundred thouſands of our People,—of vending ſuch vaſt Quantities of all Sorts of Manufactures,—of conſuming the Produce of our Lands, and conſequently, of paying to the Landed Gentleman his Rents;—tho' it is alſo the chief Support of our Fiſheries,—the Nurſery of our Sailors,—and the principal Source of the Riches of this Kingdom. Nay, the Memory of that able and honeſt Miniſter, who had the Addreſs to perſuade the Court of *Portugal* to ratify theſe Advantages by Treaty, was vilified and inſulted for the Service he had done his Country. Mr *Methuen*, it ſeems,* "committed a Robbery, equal to the worſt "of Treaſons, for which he deſerved to have "loſt his Head, in making that Treaty.—It "was an Infringement upon the undoubted "Privilege of the *Britiſh* Parliament, and de-"ſtructive of the very Being of the *Britiſh* "Liberty. It would therefore be worſe than "Felony

* The *Mercator*, N° XXXIX. and N° CXIII. as quoted by the *Britiſh Merchant*, Vol. III. Pages 3, 4, and 31. Edit. 1721.

" Felony to enforce the keeping of it."—— Poſterity will be amazed at reading theſe Words, if they ſhould reach to their Time,— as poſſibly they may, becauſe the *Britiſh Merchant* hath recorded them; a * Book wrote on purpoſe to expel the Poiſon of this *venal* Writer; and which will be remembered, as long as any regard for Commerce, and Love for our Country ſhall remain.

ON the contrary, the Trade to *France*, which hath ever been found to be deſtructive to theſe Kingdoms, was actually attempted to be thrown open; and the Country Gentlemen were perſuaded to believe, that great Advantages would redound to themſelves by the opening

* Mr *King* ſays, in the Preface to the Iſt Vol. Page 17. " My Lord *Halifax* was the Support, and very " Spirit of the Paper called *The Britiſh Merchant*. He " encouraged the Gentlemen concerned to meet, heard " and aſſiſted their Debates, and, being zealous above " all Things that the Trade of *Great Britain* ſhould " flouriſh, he not only continued his Influence and Ad- " vice to the laſt; but, out of his uſual and unbounded " Liberality, contributed very largely to this Work; a " conſiderable Sum being raiſed to carry it on."—I will add, that the preſent noble and worthy Repreſentative of that Great Man, inherits all his Virtues, as well as his Titles and Honours:—The ſame Love of his Country,—Zeal for its Welfare,—and Knowledge of the moſt *efficacious* Methods to promote it. Therefore the Superintendency of our Commercial Affairs is moſt deſervedly committed to his Care and Vigilance; who has joined to the Senſe of Honour, belonging to his Birth, the Sentiments and Affection of a *true Patriot*, ſo hereditary in his Family. And we may aſſure ourſelves from Experience, that his Endeavours will never be wanting, to ren-

der

opening of it. Claret, Burgundy, and Champaign, and all the Wines of the Growth of *France*, might be bought much the cheaper; and as to any Diſadvantages and Diſtreſſes in Trade, they had no Concerns in *them*;—Theſe Things would be to the Merchant's Loſs, not theirs.

UNDER ſuch unhappy Prejudices, and fatal Miſtakes, it is no Wonder that the Landed Gentlemen ſhould unite in oppoſing a Bill for naturalizing foreign Proteſtants; which the very Patrons of it recommended, as advantageous to Manufactures, Trade, and Commerce. This alone was a Circumſtance to ſet them againſt it. And one of the greateſt Wits of the Age, who was the applauded weekly Lecturer to his Party, had taught them what to think and ſay, both of the Bill, and the Adviſers of it. "Theſe Men, ſaith he,* take it into their "Imaginations, that Trade can never flouriſh, "unleſs the Country becomes a *common Re-* "*ceptacle* for all Nations, Religions, and Lan- "guages: A Syſtem only proper for *ſmall po-* "*pular States*, but altogether unworthy, and "below the Dignity of an *Imperial Crown*. "—Theſe Men come with the Spirit of *Shop-* "*keepers*, to frame Rules for the Adminiſtra- "tion

der *Great Britain* the GENERAL CENTER of Trade, and a MAGAZINE for other Nations.

* The *Examiner*, Numb. XXI. written *December* 28. 1710. to prepare the Way for the Repeal of the Naturalization Bill. See an excellent and judicious Anſwer given to it in the *Spectator*, Numb. 200.

" tion of Kingdoms; or as if they thought " the whole Art of Government conſiſted in " the Importation of *Nutmegs*, and the Curing " of Herrings.—This Pedantry of *Republican* " Politicks hath done infinite Miſchief among " Us."

A GREAT Wit hath the Privilege of ſaying any Thing: But ſuch kind of Reaſoning from a plain Man, of uncouth Language, would be judged unſufferable. What Harm doth it do the City of *London*, that there are *different Languages* ſpoken on the Change every Day, and even different Walks aſſigned for the Merchants of divers Countries?——If it were not for fear of the Imputation of having the Spirit of a *Shop-keeper*, and of being a Pedant in *Republican* Politicks, I could wiſh, that different Languages were ſpoken daily on the Changes of *Briſtol* and *Liverpool*, and in all the trading Places of the Kingdom.

As to *Religion*, I hope I may be allowed in my Turn to ſay, that when any Thing is propoſed for the *Importation* of *Nutmegs*, or the *Curing* of *Herrings*, it is very ſtrange, that ſome People ſhould immediately take it into their Heads to raiſe an Outcry, that the CHURCH IS IN DANGER. I really think, the Church of *England* comes the neareſt to Perfection, of any ſince the Apoſtles Days; and under that Perſuaſion, I confeſs it appears to

me a *moſt injurious Treatment*, to be always repreſenting Her to be in a *crazy*, *tottering* Condition, ready to fall, and never out of Danger. The Church of Chriſt is deſcribed by our Lord Himſelf, as founded upon a Rock; and nothing, I am perſuaded, will be able to ſhake the Foundation of the Church of *England*, but the unworthy and *unchriſtian* Behaviour of its own Members. Theſe alone are able to prevail againſt Her. Half a Dozen Incendiaries, and half a Dozen Schemes, ſuch as were ſet on foot by the Friends of this Author (to deprive Diſſenting Parents of the Right of educating their own Children) would at any Time fill the Kingdom with Diſſenters.

BUT with regard to the reformed Churches abroad, the true Matter of Fact is this: When *Lutherans* or *Calviniſts* arrive in this Kingdom, they generally prefer the Church of *England* to any other; and there are few Inſtances to be given, in all the Foreigners that have come over, of their making a Separation,—notwithſtanding the Provocation given them by the Ill-Treatment and Reproaches of ſome of thoſe, who are pleaſed to call themſelves High-Church Men. Differences of Opinion they have among themſelves, but not greater than thoſe that ſubſiſt between the Members of the eſtabliſhed Church among Us. Dr *South*, and Biſhop *Atterbury*, tho' both High-Church Clergymen, were as oppoſite in their Sentiments concerning certain

certain Points, as any *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*. And it is further obſervable, that one of our publick Religious Societies, conſiſting of a great Number of the Right Reverend the Biſhops, the principal Clergy, and other diſtinguiſhed Members of the Church of *England*, *The Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge*, openly *patronized* and *ſupported* the *Lutheran* Miſſionaries in the *Eaſt Indies*, in the very Year in which this Author wrote, *viz.* 1710. This Circumſtance alone is an inconteſtible Proof, that the *Lutheran* Church, in the Opinion of the beſt and ableſt Defenders of the Church of *England*, is neither Heretical nor Schiſmatical. But the Society went farther, and in a few Years afterwards, opened two new Miſſions of their own, at the *Engliſh* Settlements of *Madraſs* and *Cudulore*, and appointed no other than *Daniſh* [*Lutheran*] Miſſionaries, to carry on that good Work. * See the Society's Printed Account, at the End of this Year's Sermon, Page 7.

As

*——" The Society undertook, in the Year 1710. " the Management of ſuch Charities as were, or " ſhould be put into their Hands for the *Support* and " *Enlargement* of the PROTESTANT [*Lutheran*] MIS- " SION, then maintained by the King of *Denmark*, at " *Tranquebar*, in the *Eaſt Indies*, for the Converſion " of the *Heathen* in thoſe Parts. Accordingly they, " from Time to Time, aſſiſted the Miſſionaries there " with Money, a Printing-Preſs, Paper, and other Ne- " ceſſaries (as they were enabled) till the Year 1728. " When, upon a Propoſal made by the Rev. Mr *Schultze*,

As to the Flings of this Author, about *ſmall popular States*, and the *Spirit of Shop-keeping*, I have only this to ſay, that other Powers, beſides the *States General*, to whom he deſigned this Complement, have encreaſed the Number of their Subjects by the Admiſſion of Foreigners. Antient *Rome* naturalized whole Kingdoms at a Time, for the Sake of increaſing its Military Strength. And ſince the Power of *France* hath the Force and Riches of almoſt *twenty Millions* of People UNITED againſt us, I leave the World to judge, whether we are able to withſtand them with only *ten Millions*,—and thoſe *never well united*. *France* alſo itſelf hath, for ſome Time paſt, naturalized foreign

" one of the *Daniſh* Miſſionaries, to remove to *Fort* " *St George*, and there begin a new Miſſion, for the " Converſion of the *Heathen* at *Madraſs*, *the Society* " *engaged for the Support of the ſame*, tho' at an Expence " that did then far exceed their Ability; truſting to the " Goodneſs and Bleſſing of Almighty GOD: Which " Expence has been ſince greatly encreaſed by an Ad- " dition of Miſſionaries, as well as the Enlargement of " the Miſſion to *Cudulore*, near *Fort St David*, another " *Engliſh* Settlement. However, the Society chearfully " rely upon the ſame wiſe and gracious Providence, " which has hitherto wonderfully proſpered this, and " all other their Undertakings, to raiſe up ſuch a true " Chriſtian Spirit, as will abundantly ſupply all their " Wants; ſuch a Spirit, as ſhews itſelf in Mr Profeſſor " *Franke* of *Hall*, in *Saxony*, whoſe Remittances to- " wards carrying on this pious and glorious Deſign, " have been large and conſtant." See alſo N° IV. Page 58. for a further Account.

foreign Catholicks, especially the *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*; thereby draining us of People, to encrease its own Subjects. * Even the bigoted *Spaniards* have now a Project on Foot for naturalizing TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND foreign Catholicks. Also the King of *Prussia* is covering his Wastes, Forests, and Marshes, with Farms and Villages, enlarging his Towns and Cities, and replenishing his Manufactures with additional Hands, drawn from all Countries: By these Means he is, to a great Degree, enabled to maintain, in constant Pay, one of the greatest Armies, and the best appointed, that was ever seen in *Europe*. These are neither small, nor popular States; nor are their ruling Powers ashamed of inspiring a Spirit of Trade and Shop-keeping into their People. But if the hopeful Schemes of this Author and his Party had taken Place, the *English*, by this Time, would have had very few Shops to keep.——Nay, the very House of *Austria* begins now, not to think it *below the Dignity of an Imperial Crown*, to encourage Trade and Commerce in its Dominions. And foreign Merchants and Mechanicks are invited to settle in all the Hereditary Countries, with a Promise made them of many ample Privileges and Exemptions.

IT

* See *The Theory and Practice of Commerce*, Chap. 14. Written by *Don Geronimo Ustarits*, one of the Lords of Trade to His Catholick Majesty.

IT is not therefore ſo bad, or ſo *diſhonourable* a Thing to make our Country a Receptacle and an Aſylum for the Virtuous and Induſtrious of other Nations: And one would think the *Engliſh* would be the laſt to object to ſuch a Proceedure, who arrived to their preſent Greatneſs by theſe very Means, and are themſelves a Collection of all the Nations, and their very Language a Mixture of every Tongue in *Europe*. But whatever they were at their firſt coming, their Deſcendants ſoon become ſo thorough *Engliſhmen*, as to contract the Epidemical Diſorder of the Country, an Averſion to Foreigners.——And, at the Juncture now under Conſideration, the poor *Palatines* were the Objects againſt whom this Averſion was ſtrongly vented.

IT would have been very eaſy for the then Miniſtry, to have found Employment for theſe unhappy Sufferers, who had their Country burnt up, Towns pillaged, and Lands laid waſte, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they were engaged in a War, on our Side, againſt the *Common Enemy*. And many Schemes were ſet on foot for the Employment of them; particularly the dividing of the *New Foreſt* into Lots and Shares: This would have ſuited beſt the Genius of the People, as they moſtly conſiſted of Huſbandmen and Labourers, and were deſirous of not being diſperſed far from each

each other. But the Miniſtry had other Views than theſe: — For if the *Palatines* had been fixed in regular Settlements, they would ſoon have become an uſeful People, and have ſtopped the Clamours raiſed againſt them. Whereas the Views of the Miniſtry were not to *ſilence*, but to *encreaſe* theſe Clamours, by continuing the *Palatines* both *uſeleſs* to themſelves, and a *Burden* to the Publick, that the popular Odium againſt Foreigners might rebound, and fall the heavier upon the Authors of the late Naturalization Bill, the *Marlborough* and *Godolphin* Miniſtry; — who had likewiſe the Guilt of beating the *French*, and keeping out the Pretender: And the unfortunate Circumſtance of the Dearneſs of Corn, then almoſt *Ten Shillings* a Buſhel, together with the Ferment raiſed by Dr *Sacheverel*, gave too much Succeſs to their *Machiavelian* Schemes.

AFTER * the Nation had been thus *taught* to hate and deſpiſe a People, whom, of themſelves,

* A Writer in the Paper called *Old England*, *March* 23. 1751. hath theſe Words, "As to Vine-dreſſers "[ſpeaking of the *Palatines*] I do not ſee of what Uſe "they can be in *England*."——True; but is not every Vine-Dreſſer an *Husbandman* likewiſe, at thoſe Times when he is not employed in the Vineyard?——Quere, Was there ever known an Inſtance of a Set of Peaſants living wholly by Vine-Dreſſing, and not following other Country Buſineſs the remaining, that is, the much greater Part of the Year?——The former Objections againſt Foreigners uſed to be, That they did not betake themſelves,

ſelves, they would not have been *too fond* of, theſe Foreigners were ſent abroad, ſome to *Ireland*, and others to *New York*. The Parliament of *Ireland* had voted 24000*l.* for the Reception of them: And I find by an Act, paſſed in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, the firſt of *George* I. *c.* 29. that they were not thought an idle, or an uſeleſs People in the Kingdom of *Ireland*. Thoſe who were ſent to *New York*, having not received the kindeſt Uſage, moved from thence, and ſettled in *Penſylvania*, where they met with an humane and hoſpitable Reception. There they invited Numbers of their Countrymen to join them; and not a Year paſſes, but many Thouſands of *Germans* go over to them. By theſe Means, the Province of *Penſylvania* is enriched to ſuch a Degree, that an Eſtate in Land, which might be purchaſed for 100*l.* Sterling, before their Arrival, cannot now be had for *Three Times* that Sum; ſo greatly have they encreaſed the Wealth and Property of the *Landed Intereſt*. And the other Provinces are now uſing all their Intereſt, to have as many *German* Proteſtants to come and ſettle among them, as they can; a People, no longer deſcribed as uſeleſs, lazy, indolent,

themſelves to the Cart, the Plow, or the Flail, but to Handicrafts, and eaſy Occupations: But now, when theſe *Palatines* were moſtly employed in Agriculture, a grievous Complaint is made againſt them by the *Examiner*, N° 44. That they *underſtood no Trade or Handicraft*. So that either Way, Tradeſmen or Huſbandmen, the Foreigners muſt be condemned.

indolent, and a Burden to the Publick, but laborious, frugal, and industrious; enriching the Country they live in, by enriching themselves.*

INDEED, I am well aware, that the Author I have so often quoted, is bold enough † to "pronounce it to be a most false and infamous Scandal upon the Nation in general, "to reproach them for treating Foreigners "with Haughtiness and Contempt. The *French* "*Hugonots* are many thousand Witnesses to "the contrary: And I wish they deserved the "*thousandth Part* of the good Treatment they "have received."

THIS Author had a great Talent at *pronouncing* whatever he *pleased* for the Advantage of his Party. In the Tract entitled, *The publick Spirit of the Whiggs*, in Answer to Sir *Richard Steele*'s *Crisis*, he asserted, "That there

* Mr *Salmon*, in his *Chronological Historian*, Page 297. says, "With what View they [the *Palatines*] were "introduced into *England*, unless to *starve* or *bully* the "Natives, I could never learn." How a poor, naked, defenceless Handful of People, could BULLY such a Kingdom as this, is to me a Mystery.—What they said of themselves in the printed State of their Case is, "That "they *humbly entreated* all Tradesmen, not to repine at "the good Disposition of Her Sacred Majesty, and the "Nobility and Gentry:"—"We also entreat you, say "they, to lay aside all Reflections, and *Imprecations*, *and* "*ill Language against us*; for that is contradictory to a "Christian Spirit."—These are *not the Words of Bullies!*

† Preface to the B— of *S*— Introduction.

"were not ten Jacobite Clergymen in *Eng-*
"*land*, except *Non-jurors*." —— He might have ſaid, with equal Truth, that all the People in *England* were *blind* and *deaf*, and that he only could ſee and hear.

As to the *French Hugonots*, they certainly did receive great Favours and Civilities; but this is no Proof of a *national* Diſpoſition.—Many of our Nobility and Gentry, and other Men of Senſe, if they are not biaſſed by Monopoly—or ſuperſtitious Fears—or Diſaffection,—ſee theſe Foibles in our Countrymen, and are *aſhamed* of them, and endeavour to retrieve the national Character, by a *greater and more generous Benevolence*. Beſides, the greateſt Number of the Refugees came over juſt at a Time of a violent and dreadful Perſecution, from which they fled; and this Circumſtance greatly ſoftened the uſual Reſentment of the *Engliſh* againſt Foreigners, though it was very far from extinguiſhing it entirely. Many Complaints were uttered, even at that Time, That theſe Foreigners worked at an Under-price, and took the Bread out of the Mouths of the Natives.

BUT I would willingly know, what this Author meant by ſaying, "He wiſhed the "*French Hugonots* had deſerved the *thouſandth* "*Part* of the good Treatment they had receiv-"ed." I humbly apprehend, this muſt imply, either that the Refugees received greater Encouragement

Encouragement in *England*, than in other Countries,—or, that they had behaved unworthy of the Favours conferred upon them,—or were the Friends, and a Support to a Government he wiſhed to ſee deſtroyed.

IF he meant the *Firſt*, I muſt beg Leave to declare, in my Turn (and I have ſufficient Evidences to juſtify what I ſay) that this is a *great Miſtake*. The States General, the firſt and ſecond Kings of *Pruſſia*, the King of *Denmark*, and the Proteſtant Princes of the Empire, not only received them with open Arms, naturalized them, ſettled Stipends upon their Miniſters, and cauſed Collections to be made throughout their Dominions for their preſent Support (which were likewiſe done in **England*) but alſo exempted them from certain Taxes and Duties, and from ſerving burthenſome and expenſive Offices, for a Term of Years. In ſome Places, they had the publick Money lent them, at a low Intereſt, to merchandize, and ſet up their Trades with: In others, Lands were given them to cultivate, and Materials provided for the Building of their Houſes: And the Artificers were every where incorporated into the Companies of their re-

* Tho' after Mr *Harley* came to be Lord Treaſurer, the 15,000*l.* voted by Parliament, and allowed in the Civil Liſt, for the Support of the Miniſters and Poor among the Refugees, was not paid them. See Mr *H. Walpole*'s Speech in the Parliament. *Debates*, Vol. V. Page 70.

ſpective Trades. Moreover it muſt not be omitted, that the firſt and ſecond Kings of *Pruſſia*, ſtationed expreſs Agents on the Confines of *France*, to receive the Refugees, and to conduct them into *Brandenburg*; paying their travelling Charges through the Empire: Which humane and engaging Method is, as it is ſaid, lately revived by the preſent politick King of *Pruſſia*. It is therefore not at all ſurpriſing, that the *French* Refugees, when they fled out of *France*, choſe rather to ſettle in other Proteſtant Countries, than in *England*. For out of 800,000 Perſons, the Number computed by *Voltaire* and others, to have fled from the Perſecutions and Oppreſſions of *Lewis* XIV. *not a twentieth* Part came here. — And at preſent, though we daily hear of Perſecutions in the Southern Provinces of *France*, which chiefly abound with *Proteſtant Manufacturers*, we ſcarce find that a ſingle Sufferer hath taken Refuge in *England*; — at the ſame Time that great Numbers are daily retiring into other Countries.

IF the *Second* was this Author's Meaning, I muſt here allow him to be in the Right; and confeſs the Crimes thoſe *Hugonots* are charged with. — It is not, that they robbed, or ſtole, or cheated, or raiſed Inſurrections, or were taken in a Plot either againſt Church or State; — But they oppoſed the *Miniſterial* Bill of Commerce with *France*; and gave the firſt

Alarm

Alarm to the Nation of the miſchievous Tendency of it. They beſt underſtood the Manufactures of their own Country, and the Difference between the Price of Labour in *France* and *England*; and therefore proved to a Demonſtration, That we ſhould be a ruined People, if the *French* were permitted to import their Manufactures, Wines, and Brandies into *England*, according to the Tenor of that Treaty. This was the great, the unpardonable Offence. —They ought to have held their Tongues, and not have blabbed out a Truth ſo *Mal-a-propos*. I muſt likewiſe add, that Mr *Samuel Toriano*, another foreign Proteſtant, though not a *Frenchman*, was in Danger of being ſent to Priſon, for his free and unwelcome Explanation of theſe Things at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons.

LASTLY, If it was the Author's Intention to inſinuate, that the *French Hugonots* are to be looked upon as Enemies to the Deſigns of that Party among us, who are *not Friends* to our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; —I muſt plead guilty to this Crime alſo. And indeed I will freely acknowledge, that the Naturalization of foreign Proteſtants, can never have a favourable Aſpect towards a *certain Cauſe*: —Nor is it to be wondered at, that Perſons of *that Complection* ſhould oppoſe it with ſo much Virulence, and ſpread ſo many Stories among the Populace, to heighten their *inbred* Prejudices againſt it. For they know very well,

well, that every foreign Proteſtant, who fled from the Tyranny and Perſecution of his own Prince, would be the more active, in a free Country, to oppoſe the Pretenſions of *any Family*, who claim ſuch an *unbounded* Hereditary Right over his Liberty and Life, as *never can be forfeited*; — who are alſo obliged, by the Principles of their Church, and their Ties of Intereſt; to ſuppreſs the *Proteſtant* Religion, as ſoon as they have the *Power of doing it*. And when the Reader conſiders the Schemes in Agitation at the Juncture in which this Author wrote, he will eaſily account for the Clamours that were raiſed by a certain Set of Men, againſt the Naturalization of foreign Proteſtants.

AFTER having brought Matters to this Period of Queen *Ann*'s Reign, I think it needleſs to deſcend lower down. Be it ſufficient to obſerve, that from a very late Inſtance it plainly appears, that *all* the former Biaſſes ſtill ſubſiſt againſt Foreigners: — Though perhaps we now have yet ſtronger Reaſons for the Admiſſion of them, which I ſhall endeavour more particularly to ſet forth in the *Second Part* of this Treatiſe.

IN the mean Time, one general Obſervation certainly deſerves the Attention of the Reader, *viz.* "That every Legiſlature ought "more particularly to guard againſt thoſe evil "Qualities in a People, to which they are "moſt

" moſt inclined." This was the Point on which I firſt ſet out, and with which I now conclude. —— The *Engliſh* Nation do certainly excel in many good Qualities: But are there none of a different Nature to which they are addicted? And indeed, hath not every Nation ſome *bad*, as well as *good* Diſpoſitions, by which it is characteriſed and diſtinguiſhed?*——The Averſion of the Inhabitants of this Iſland towards Foreigners is no *new* Thing: For it hath been taken Notice of near *eighteen Hundred* Years ago. Neither is it any *Secret*; if it were, I ſhould have thought it improper to be divulged. But alas! all the World are agreed in the Fact; and if we deny the Charge, who will believe us?—There is, therefore, no other Way left of clearing ourſelves of the Imputation, than by *altering* our Conduct towards them: This may produce ſome good Effect; but it will be by *very ſlow* Degrees. For the Foreigners are too well acquainted with our natural Averſion againſt them, to be fond of coming over in ſuch Numbers,

* The common People in *Wales* look upon the *Engliſh* to this Day, as *Upſtarts* and *Foreigners:* And when an *Engliſh* Artificer comes among them, they generally expreſs their Contempt of, and Averſion to him, by ſaying, *Rhyw Sais bach, yn dyfod ni wn i o ble:* That is, *A little pitiful Saxon* [Engliſhman] *who comes one knows not from where.* I have had frequent Opportunities of obſerving this Foible in the *ancient Britons*, as I am a Native of the Country: And it is worth regarding, that the *Engliſh* themſelves uſe almoſt the ſame Terms of Reproach againſt the *French*, and other Foreigners.

bers, as many ignorant or prejudiced Perſons among us are pleaſed to ſuppoſe. And the Antipathies we have ſo long ſhewed, muſt firſt be *forgot*, before they can be perſuaded to prefer *England* to many other Countries, where the *Perſecuted* and *Diſtreſſed* have been *invited* to come, and have met with the greateſt Encouragement, and kindeſt Reception.

INDEED, we give a moſt aſtoniſhing and ſcandalous Encouragement to Cooks, Fidlers, Dancers, Singers, &c. &c. of all Nations. But this is no Proof of our Regard to Foreigners, but of our exceſſive Love of Pleaſure, which bears down every Thing before it. For at the ſame Time that ſo many Thouſand Pounds a Year are ſquandered away upon Perſons of *any* or *no* Religion, who come expreſly to debauch our Morals, encreaſe our Expences, leſſen our Induſtry, impoveriſh our Country, introduce new Luxuries, and do every Thing that is prejudicial to our Well-being, as Members both of Church and State, —— we STILL refuſe to naturalize thoſe honeſt, induſtrious, and *conſcientious* Proteſtant Families, who are *perſecuted for Righteouſneſs Sake*.

IN ſhort, we diſcourage the *Mechanick*—the *Merchant*—and the PROTESTANT, from coming to us;—but invite and encourage ALL OTHERS.

FINIS.

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

EXPEDIENCY of a LAW

FOR THE

NATURALIZATION

OF

FOREIGN PROTESTANTS:

In Two Parts.

PART II.

Containing Important Queries relating to Commerce,—The Employment of the Poor,—The Landed and National Intereſt,—Taxes of all Kinds, particularly the Poor Tax,—The real Intereſt of Tradeſmen,—Reformation of Morals,—Conſtitution both in Church and State, the Duties of Humanity, and the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion.

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Rector of St Stephen's in Bristol,
AND
Chaplain to the Right Reverend the
Lord Biſhop of Bristol.

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M.DCC.LII.

THE

PREFATORY

DISCOURSE.

Setting forth the *avowed* Doctrines, and *conſtant* Practice of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the Perſecution of *Proteſtants*.

I. *THE Church of* Rome, *judging herſelf to be infallible, hath paſſed an irrevocable Decree againſt Chriſtians of all Denominations, that do not conform to her Communion, whereby ſhe declares them* accurſed Hereticks, *and pretends to cut them off from being Partakers of the Mercies of the Chriſtian Covenant. This Power ſhe ſuppoſes herſelf to be inveſted with, in Conſequence of her Spiritual Dominion, as the* [Mater & Magiſtra] *Mother and Governeſs of the Chriſtian World. But the Spiritual Powers are not the* only *Weapons employed for the Extirpation of Hereſy.*

II. *FOR it is the conſtant and ſtanding Maxim of the Church, that even ſuch Heretical Opinions as* do not interfere *with the Principles of Civil Government, deſerve, in* Strictneſs, *ſome Civil Puniſhment;*

though its Members are divided in their Sentiments concerning the Extent *and* Degree, *and in ſome Inſtances, concerning the* Expediency *of it. In thoſe Countries, for Inſtance, where the Inquiſition is eſtabliſhed, the* Romaniſts *attribute to the Church (or to the Church and* * Chriſtian Magiſtrate *together) the ſame Power of Life and Death over Hereticks, which temporal Judges execute on Criminals;—only regarding Hereſy as the moſt* aggravated *Crime. In* France, *and wherever elſe there is no Inquiſition, they only aſcribe a Kind of* parental *Authority to the Church, extending to the Infliction of* wholeſome *Severities, through the Aſſiſtance of the* Chriſtian *Magiſtrate, but not of* capital † *Puniſhment. The former propoſe to*

* The learned and candid Reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that the Author's Intention is to give ſuch a *general* State of this Matter, as the *Romaniſts* themſelves would allow to be a fair one in the Mouth of an Adverſary. Now it being the ſame Thing, with reſpect to the principal Point in Diſpute, whether the pretended Right of puniſhing Hereticks is lodged in the Church ſeparately, or in the Church and State conjointly, this Part of the Controverſy (ſo fiercely conteſted among the *Romaniſts* themſelves) is here *deſignedly* omitted, as not worth attending to;—eſpecially as the Advocates for Perſecution confine this ſuppoſed Right to the Profeſſors of the *Catholick Faith*, and would make the World believe, that though they have a Right to perſecute Hereticks, *Heretical* Governors have *no* Right to perſecute Catholick Subjects. Therefore the grand Queſtion ſtill returns, Whether the *Chriſtian Religion* gives the Popiſh Church, or a Popiſh State (it matters not which) a Right to perſecute thoſe who diſſent from them in ſuch Matters of Conſcience, as are *conſiſtent* with the Principles of Civil Government.

† This is meant with regard to the *Laity* among the *Proteſtants*; for as to their *Clergy*, it is certain, that they are perſecuted even unto *Death* in moſt *Popiſh* Countries, eſpecially in *France*, as may be ſeen by the *Edicts* of 1686, 1724, and 1745. And there are *recent* Examples of the Execution of theſe cruel *Edicts* on ſeveral worthy Proteſtant Clergymen.

to extirpate Hereſy by deſtroying *Hereticks, the latter by* haraſſing *and* oppreſſing *them. And to theſe two Opinions we may add a third, eſpouſed by the more moderate Members of this Church, that though the Church and* Chriſtian *State are inveſted with an* undoubted Right *of inflicting civil* Penalties *on Hereticks, it is not always* expedient *to exerciſe it.— And this Difference in Opinion produces as great a Diverſity in the Arguments advanced to vindicate the Perſecutions of the Church of* Rome.

III. *THE* Spaniſh *Divines, and all the Defenders of the Inquiſition, endeavour to juſtify its greateſt Cruelties upon the Principles of the antient* Jewiſh *Church; and quote with much Parade the Examples of* Moſes, Joſhua, *and the beſt Kings of* Iſrael, *in Vindication of their modern Practice of putting Hereticks to Death. This they do, without ſo much as attempting to ſhew that the Caſes are parallel; and therefore we muſt charitably hope, they do not ſee the Impropriety of bringing ſuch Authorities, inaſmuch as they take the very Thing for granted, which ought firſt to be proved.*

IV. *IT will therefore be highly expedient, to examine into the original Inſtitution of the* Hebrew *Government, in order to ſee, whether it bears ſuch an Analogy to the Civil Governments now ſubſiſting, as would juſtify the Arguments and Concluſions ſo often brought in Support of the moſt fierce and bloody Perſecutions.*

NOW the great and fundamental *Articles of this Conſtitution was, that the* God *of* Iſrael *was likewiſe their temporal Prince, the great King* Jehovah,

VAH, *who made the Temple his Palace, and the Holy of Holies the Chamber of his Preſence, where He reſided by a* Shekinah, *or viſible Glory, and gave Audience to the High-Prieſt, his great Miniſter of State. Thus it came to paſs, that the main or* diſtinguiſhing *Principles of the Religion of the People of* Iſrael *became in Practice the Tokens and Evidences of the* Homage *and* Allegiance *due to their Prince. In ſuch Circumſtances, thoſe capital Deviations from the Duty preſcribed, as tended to overthrow the Conſtitution, were to be conſidered as ſo many Overt-Acts of Treaſon and Rebellion. And as every Government muſt have the Power of providing for its own Preſervation, ſo it is expreſly commanded in the Law of* Moſes, *that ſuch Subjects as would not conform to their Duty, eſpecially if they fell off to* Idolatry, *were to ſuffer a temporal Death*; Idolatry, *and ſuch like Crimes, being not only Acts of* Apoſtaſy *in reſpect to* Religion, *but of* Treaſon *in regard to Government. And the Perſon ſo offending, was not to be* pitied, neither to be ſpared, neither to be concealed: But thou ſhalt ſurely kill him; and thine Hand ſhall be firſt upon him, to put him to Death, and afterwards the Hand of all the People: And thou ſhalt ſtone him with Stones, that he die; becauſe he ſought to thruſt thee away from the Lord thy GOD. —— And all Iſrael ſhall hear, and fear, and ſhall do no more any ſuch Wickedneſs as this among you. *Deuter.* xiii. 8, 9, 10, 11.

IT might further be obſerved, that as this was a Civil *Conſtitution, as well as a* Religious *one, ſo the great* JEHOVAH, *the King of* Iſrael, *had made a Grant of the Land of* Canaan *to the* Hebrew *Nation, on the expreſs Condition, that the People continued*

tinued in their Loyalty and Obedience to Him. Therefore it was impoſſible for any Member of this Society to ſet up another Religion, without committing High-Treaſon againſt the Prince, and incurring a Forfeiture of thoſe Privileges which were held under him.

AS to the Puniſhment due to ſuch Crimes in a future *State, and the Terrors of a Judgment to come, theſe being* diſtinct *Articles, in which all Nations and People are concerned, in Proportion to the Light they have received, therefore the Conſideration of them may be omitted in the preſent Caſe.*

V. *HOWEVER, thus much, I am perſuaded, appears already, that the Advocates for the Inquiſition have miſerably failed in their grand Attempt, and have widely miſtook the Nature of the Proof they ought to bring in Vindication of this Tribunal. For what Good can it do the Cauſe of Perſecution, to quote the Precepts or Examples recorded in the Old Teſtament, when the Caſe of all* Chriſtian *Nations is ſo very diſſimilar to that of the* Jews? *And what Inference can be drawn from the* Hebrew *Conſtitution, under a* Theocracy, *or the* Temporal Kingly *Government of the great* JEHOVAH, *that is applicable to any Government or Conſtitution now ſubſiſting? And if one main Deſign of the Eſtabliſhment of the Inquiſition was to root out* Judaiſm, *may we not juſtly wonder to find it actually conducted upon* Jewiſh *Principles,—tho' ſuch Laws were not intended at firſt for* univerſal Uſe, *and have been repealed, or at leaſt ſuperſeded by the coming of the Goſpel,* if not long before?* THE

* Probably this Law, and the other which follows it in the ſame Chapter, being ſtill more ſevere againſt an *Idolatrous* City, were no longer in force, than while the *Shekinah*, or viſible Preſence, was continued in the Temple. But this is propoſed only as a *Conjecture*.

VI. *THE Members of the* Gallican *Church, and all others that may be included under the same Denomination, do not pretend to build their Right of persecuting Hereticks upon such Principles, but think they go upon surer Grounds, by ascribing to the Church, (or to the Church and State, as professing the* Catholick Religion*) the Right and Power of an* earthly Parent *over her Children. And as this Doctrine carries with it an Appearance of Regard for the Souls of Men, mixed with Tenderness and Affection to their Persons, the Unwary and Well-intentioned are the more easily deceived into an Approbation of it, as they may not see into the fatal Consequences of such a Claim. For under the Pretence of a Parent's using* necessary *Discipline, and* wholesome *Severities, for the* Correction *of a* disobedient *Child, all Kinds of Persecution that do not extend to the taking away of Life itself, are allowed and justified. Nay even* Death *is inflicted on the* Protestant Ministers of the Gospel, *who are considered as the* Corruptors *of these Children, whenever they exercise any Part of their holy Function. Moreover, if a* Lay Person *should* occasionally *officiate, for* want *of a Minister, in any publick Assembly, or be instrumental in calling it together, he is to be punished in the like Manner: It being the* wicked *Policy of the* Romish *Church to deprive the Protestants of having publick Teachers of any Kind; hoping thereby, that when the Shepherds are smitten, their Flocks will be scattered, and become the more easy Prey. And this Treatment, cruel and unchristian as it is, is the very mildest she vouchsafes to Protestants. But before we enter more distinctly into the* Consequences, *let us first examine the* Foundation *of this Doctrine.*

VII. *NOW*

VII. *NOW the very Terms made use of,* [Mater & Magistra] *Mother and Governess, are figurative and metaphorical Expressions, and therefore, should not be supposed to extend to* all *Cases belonging to the Original from whence they are borrowed. Nay, if they had been* * *Scripture Phrases, which I humbly conceive they are not, they would not have justified* all *the Conclusions the* Romanists *draw from them. For Doctrines of Importance, which have an immediate Reference to Practice, and on which both the present and future Happiness of Mankind are supposed to depend, are not to be built on Tropes and Metaphors;—especially where the Subject would admit of the* plainest *and most* express *Language, level to all Capacities. And yet there is not* one Word *in all the New Testament, the* Romanists *themselves being Judges, that directly, and* ex professo, *teaches or inculcates the Doctrine of Persecution; though they must allow, that it would have been as easy to say,* Persecute Hereticks, *as* Love your Enemies. *And therefore, when they would defend these unchristian Tenets by Scripture Arguments, they are forced to seek out for* strained *Interpretations, and to have recourse to very remote Conclusions, or ill founded Hypotheses.*

AND as to the primitive *Church, the very Circumstances of it under the* Pagan *Emperors, afford Evidence enough to shew, what the Christians of those Times thought of Persecution. But when the Empire*

a *became*

* The Church *Triumphant* in *Heaven*, the *Jerusalem* that is *Above*, is said to be *The Mother of us all*; but this Appellation is never given in Scripture to any Church *Militant* upon *Earth*.

became Christian, *the Sweets of Power, and Thirst of Dominion and Revenge, soon began to corrupt the Gospel Doctrine of Love and Charity, and mutual Forbearance; and the Gentleness and Condescension so* earnestly *and* pathetically *recommended by St* Paul *to be shewn to a* weak Brother, *were turned into Bitterness, and Wrath, and Evil-Speaking. And every Sect, when uppermost, called upon the* Secular *Arm to support the* good Cause, *by* crushing *their Adversaries. Hence arose* new Claims *of Right and Power; and subtle Distinctions were coined to justify the Persecution of the one Side, and condemn that of the other. Thus the Church of* Rome, *who finds such Difficulty to press a* single Text *into its Service out of the Holy Scriptures, is enabled to produce Authorities in Abundance from the Fathers of the Fourth and following Centuries, in support of the worst of Causes, the Cause of Persecution. Let us therefore now proceed to its Effects and Consequences.*

VIII. *IN the first Place, the* Roman *Church, as the* Universal Mother, *extends her Claim of* Parental Jurisdiction, *not only over her own Members, but over every other Sect of Christians in the World; and never fails to exercise this Power whenever she can: For all Hereticks are still to be considered as her Children, though* disobedient *and* rebellious; *and the more obstinately they persist in their* Crimes, *the stronger are the Reasons why she should exert a* Parent's *Right in* Chastizing *them, if they are not prevailed upon by gentle Methods.*

IN the next Place, as the Church hath an unalieniable Right to the filial *Obedience of all her Children,*

dren, no temporal Prince, or civil Magiſtrate, ought to covenant or agree with the Delinquents, *that this Obedience ſhould not be paid; for this would be doing an Injuſtice to the* common Parent: *And the civil Magiſtrate, who is bound in Conſcience, as a* good Catholick, *both to reverence and obey her himſelf, and not to* conſent *to the Violation of her Authority by his* own Subjects, *cannot diſannul this* ſuperior *and* prior *Obligation by any pretended Engagements to the contrary.*

SUPPOSE therefore he took an Oath to grant Liberty of Conſcience, and the free Exerciſe of Religion, to Proteſtants *or* Hereticks;—*Suppoſe he ſtipulated, that he would hold ſacred the Rights of private Judgment, provided nothing was broached offenſive to good Manners and civil Society;—Suppoſe this was made the expreſs* Condition *of his being* admitted *to reign over them;—Why, ſuch Oaths, and ſuch Conditions, are* null in themſelves; *and he ought not to perform what he had* NO RIGHT *to promiſe. A* Catholick Prince, *who comes under any Engagements with his* Proteſtant Subjects, inconſiſtent *with the Duty owing to the* common Parent, *was guilty of a* Crime *in coming under ſuch Engagements, but will be guilty of a* much worſe *in keeping them.*

IX. *THE Conſequences of ſuch Poſitions are very* plain *and* obvious;—*and ſtill the more dreadful, when we come to view them exemplified in Practice. For it is obſervable of* ALL *the States and Kingdoms of the* Romiſh *Perſuaſion, that they* NEVER CEASE *to perſecute the* Proteſtants *in one Degree or other; ſo*

that the mildeſt *Treatment they vouchſafe to give, would be reckoned* barbarous *and* cruel *in this happy Land of Liberty, if the* Catholicks *in* England *were to meet with ſuch Uſage. Nor is it to be forgotten,* that the Laws in force againſt the Proteſtants Abroad, are not only* ſevere, *and in ſome Inſtances* cruel *and* ſhocking, *but alſo that the great Body of the* Romiſh *Communion are led by the* Spirit *and* Tenor *of their Religion to eſteem it* meritorious *to execute theſe Laws with the utmoſt Rigor. And the Doctrine of their Church, concerning the* Piety *of* extirpating Hereſy, *joined to that of* Pardons *and* Indulgences, *hath a ſtrange Effect in diſpoſing them to believe, that their* perſonal Vices *and* favourite Sins *may be* atoned *for by a* warmer *and* fiercer Zeal *for the* Catholick Cauſe. *As to the Popiſh Clergy in particular, it is their Unhappineſs, not only to have theſe Prejudices in common with others, but alſo to be ſpurred on to act with the greater Violence by the Temptations of Self-Intereſt and preſent Advantage. And I cannot omit obſerving, that the Edicts of the* preſent *King of* France *are framed with ſo much Art and Policy, that they will in a great Meaſure* execute themſelves, *both by the Encouragements given to* Informers, *and the Penalties which the* new-converted *Catholicks are ſubject to, if they are obſerved to favour in the leaſt Degree the Meetings of Proteſtants; nay, if they are not extremely vigilant in detecting and proſecuting them, though they ſhould happen to be their own Children, or neareſt and deareſt Relations. In ſhort, the greateſt Favour the Proteſtants can expect from a Popiſh Government,*

* See the Tract entitled, *Popery always the ſame*, Printed for B. Dod in *Ave-Mary Lane, London*, 1746.

Government, is only such a Connivance, *as may rather be called a* Respite *from Persecution, than a real Protection. For as to a* legal, solid TOLERATION, POPERY *suffers* no such Thing, *however solemnly stipulated; witness the faithless and cruel Revocation of the Edict of* Nantz, *and the many severe Punishments inflicted since that Time, to this very Hour, upon Subjects unquestionably loyal.*

X. *THIS being the State of the Case, let us now consider, how far we may rely on those* specious *Declarations sometimes made by the more* moderate *Party of the* Romish *Communion against Persecution.*

IT is true, they condemn with great Warmth, and we charitably hope with equal Sincerity, the Proceedings against Protestants *in* particular *Cases, and scruple not to blame the Authors and Advisers of them. But let not the* unwary Protestant *be deceived by so fair an Appearance: For though they inveigh against the Practice in* particular *Instances, they do not renounce the main Principle on which the supposed Right of Persecution is founded: And it is one Thing to say with the* CONSISTENT PROTESTANT, *That the Christian Religion gives* NO RIGHT *to persecute Men for* mere *Matters of Conscience; and another, that there may be a* wrong Application, *or an* improper Use *made of this imginary Right. Now the former is a Position they* never can *subscribe to,* as Roman Catholicks, *though they may very heartily and sincerely join with the latter. And therefore, while they hold that the* Roman Catholick Church *hath* still *a* Parental *Authority, and an* inherent *Jurisdiction over* Hereticks, *their Declarations against*

Persecution

Perſecution amount to no more, than againſt the improper *Exerciſe of it. So that upon the whole, the Claim of Right being ſtill kept up, there can be no Security for* Proteſtants *againſt ſuffering the dreadful Effects of it, whenever it is* judged more expedient *to* perſecute *than to* forbear; *and of this* private Perſons, *or* particular Writers, *are not allowed to be Judges.*

XI. *THUS much I thought neceſſary to lay before the* Engliſh *Reader, concerning the Hardſhips and Sufferings of his* Fellow Proteſtants *Abroad; and I flatter myſelf he will not be diſpleaſed with my Endeavours to place theſe Things before him in their* true Light. *Mankind are apt to take their Ideas of Foreign Countries, and diſtant Things, from thoſe they have been moſt accuſtomed to at Home. And as it is our preſent Happineſs in theſe Kingdoms to enjoy a Liberty of Conſcience (whereby thoſe who* diſſent *from the eſtabliſhed Church are permitted to live in the utmoſt Security) it is natural for us to conceive of the* Foreign Proteſtants, *only as in the Condition of* Diſſenters *from the* national *Church,—or at the worſt, as being upon the ſame Footing with the* Roman Catholicks *in* England. *But Concluſions of this Nature are extremely fallacious, and might prevent our having that* Fellow-feeling *for the Sufferings of our Brethren, which we ought to have. For the Laws in* England *againſt the* Roman Catholicks *are upon a very different Foundation from thoſe of the* Popiſh *Princes againſt their* Proteſtant Subjects; *the* Roman Catholicks *being conſidered in this Kingdom, not as a* Sect *in Religion, but as a* Faction *againſt the State, whoſe* reigning Principles, *both as to Religion and Government, lead them to ſeek the*

the Ruin and Deſtruction of Proteſtants,—*and which they have* very often, *though hitherto (God be praiſed) unſucceſsfully attempted. But what is the Intent, and what were the* Occaſions *of* enacting *thoſe ſeveral Laws?—Not ſurely to* harraſs *and* oppreſs *the Papiſts (God forbid) but to* ſecure *ourſelves. And therefore, though the* Principles *of the* Engliſh *Catholicks can deſerve* no Favour, *or* Connivance *from a* Proteſtant *Parliament, and a* Proteſtant *Houſe of* HANOVER, *yet as long as their* Practice *continues to be* inoffenſive, *theſe Laws are never executed. And the* Roman *Catholicks in* England *enjoy the Benefit of a Toleration, as to all the Purpoſes of Conſcience and Religion. Though viewing their Principles in the moſt favourable Light, Papiſts, as ſuch, certainly diſavow and deny the* ſupreme *Authority of the* Britiſh *Government, and hold themſelves* ſubject *to a* foreign *Juriſdiction, which to them is infallible and ſupreme.*

LET the candid and benevolent Reader now compare their Caſe with that of the poor, perſecuted Proteſtants Abroad: Let him conceive himſelf in the Situation of thoſe unhappy Sufferers, helpleſs and diſtreſſed, forced to abandon all his Poſſeſſions, his deareſt Relations, and his native Country, and fleeing from his Perſecutors into a Land of Strangers, where he only deſires a ſecure Retreat, with an Excluſion *from all publick Employments, and from Parliament, and upon his giving the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of Fidelity to the Government, to be received as a faithful Subject;—and may the Almighty direct him to form ſuch a Judgment concerning the Treatment due to Perſons in theſe Circumſtances as becomes a* CHRISTIAN *and a* PROTESTANT.

IMPORT-

IMPORTANT QUERIES,

OCCASIONED BY

The Rejection of the late

NATURALIZATION BILL.

SECTION I.

Preliminaries relating to popular Prejudices;— The Terms Foreigner *and* Engliſhman;— *And the Service which Foreigners have formerly done to the Commerce of this Nation.*

I. WHETHER popular Prejudices are to be conſidered as the Teſt of Truth? Whether there have not been the moſt violent Oppoſitions againſt Chriſtian Forbearance and *Toleration* in each Part of the united Kingdom;

dom;——againſt making Hedges and Encloſures;—againſt mending the High Roads, by erecting Turnpikes;—and againſt almoſt every Publick-ſpirited Undertaking, and uſeful Invention, when firſt attempted? And whether the ſame *deluded* Populace, who clamoured againſt the Admiſſion of Foreigners about forty Years ago, were not likewiſe ſo far infatuated as to cry, *The landed Intereſt*,—No TRADE, NO MERCHANTS?

II. WHETHER the Word *Foreigner*, as commonly uſed, doth not carry with it an Idea of Contempt and Reproach? Whether the *Engliſh* Nation have any juſt Grounds for treating others in this Manner? And indeed, Whether thoſe Natives, who purſue Meaſures pernicious to their Country, ſhould not be ranked as Aliens? And thoſe Foreigners, who conduce by their Induſtry and Virtue to the Publick Good of this Kingdom, be reſpected as Natives?

III. WHETHER we do not originally owe all our Knowledge in the ſeveral Manufactures of Cloths, Stuffs, Serges, Druggets, Silks, Velvet, Ribbands, Laces, Cottons, Linens, Paper, Hats, Iron, Steel, Copper, Braſs, *&c.* to the Inſtruction of Foreigners? Whether therefore, our Anceſtors acted wiſely, or conſulted the *real* Welfare of their Country, in endeavouring to prevent ſuch Manufacturers from

from ſettling in this Kingdom;—tho' their eſtabliſhment was oppoſed from the ſame ill-grounded Apprehenſions which now ſubſiſt, that ſuch *Foreigners came to eat the Bread out of the Mouths of the Natives.*

SECTION II.

The Introduction of New Manufactures;—The Improvement of others;—And the Extention of Commerce.

I. WHETHER it can be known, *before Trial is made*, that Foreigners cannot ſtill introduce ſome *new* Manufacture, or *improve* thoſe already eſtabliſhed? And what Effect muſt Goodneſs of Work, and Cheapneſs of Labour, have upon our Foreign Trade?

II. WHETHER it is not aſſuredly known, that Foreigners do ſtill excel us in making ſeveral Sorts of Paper, ſome Kinds of Silks, Velvets, and Brocades, Gold and Silver Stuffs, and all Sorts of Embroidery, Thread, Thread Laces of various Kinds, Gold and Silver Laces, alſo in Dying of Blacks and Scarlets, making of thin Cloth for the *Southern* Countries, Carpets * and Tapeſtry, in many Branches of the

* CARPETS and Tapeſtry.] There is a Law now ſubſiſting, made the 25th of *Charles* II. Chap. 15.

the Linen, Cambrick, and Lawn Manufactures, Drawing and Designing, Carving, Gilding,

Anno Dom. 1663. for the Naturalization of all Persons concerned in the Manufactures of Linen and Tapestry; the Recital of which may not be unacceptable to some of my Readers.

An Act for encouraging the Manufactures of making Linen Cloth, and Tapestry.

" I. WHEREAS vast Quantities of Linen Cloth, and " other Manufactures of Hemp and Flax, and of Ta- " pestry Hangings, are daily imported into this King- " dom from foreign Parts, to the great Detriment and " Impoverishment thereof; the Monies and quick Stock " of this Kingdom being thereby daily exhausted and " diminished, and the Poor thereof unemployed; while " the Materials for the making of such Hangings are " here more plentiful, and better, and cheaper, than " in those Places from whence they are imported; and " Flax and Hemp might be had here in great Abun- " dance, and very good, if by setting up the Manu- " factures of such Commodities as are made thereof, it " would be taken off the Hands of such as sow and " plant the same.

" II. FOR the Encouragement therefore of those Ma- " nufactures, Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted by " the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the " Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Tem- " poral, and Commons in this present Parliament as- " sembled, and by the Authority thereof, that from " and after the First Day of *October* next ensuing, it " shall and may be lawful for any Person or Persons " whatsoever, *Native* or *Foreigner*, freely, and *with- " out paying any Acknowledgment*, Fee, or other Gratui- " ty for the same, in any Place of *England* or *Wales*,

" *Privileged*

ing, and Coach-making, Statuary, Painting, and Prints, alſo in *Nuremburg*, and ſome other Sorts

" *Privileged* or *Unprivileged*, *Corporate* or *not Corpo-*
" *rate*, to ſet up and exerciſe the Trade, Occupation,
" or Myſtery of breaking, hickling, or dreſſing of
" Hemp or Flax; as alſo for making and whitening of
" Thread, and of ſpinning, weaving, making, white-
" ning, or bleaching of any Sort of Cloth whatſoever,
" made of Hemp or Flax only: As alſo the Trade, Oc-
" cupation, or Myſtery of making of Twine or Nets
" for Fiſhery, or of ſtowing of Cordage; as alſo the
" Trade, Occupation, or Myſtery of making any Sort
" of Tapeſtry-Hangings, *any Law*, *Statute*, *or Uſage*
" *to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.*

" III. AND all Foreigners that ſhall really, and bonâ
" fide, ſet up and uſe any of the Trades and Manufac-
" tures aforeſaid, by the Space of three Years, in this
" Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and
" Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, ſhall from thenceforth,
" taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy be-
" fore two Juſtices of the Peace, near unto their Dwell-
" ings, who are hereby authoriſed to adminiſter the
" ſame, *enjoy all Privileges whatſoever*, *as the natural-*
" *born Subjects of this Kingdom.*

" IV. AND it is hereby enacted and declared, That
" ſuch Foreigners as ſhall exerciſe any of the Trades
" aforeſaid by Virtue of this Act, ſhall not at any Time
" be liable to any other or greater Taxes, Payments,
" or Impoſitions, than ſuch as are or ſhall be paid by
" his Majeſty's natural-born Subjects, unleſs they ſhall
" uſe and exerciſe Merchandize into and from Foreign
" Parts; in which Caſe, they ſhall be liable to pay ſuch
" Cuſtoms as have uſually been paid by Aliens, during
" the Space of five Years next enſuing, and *no longer*,"

IT

Sorts of Toys, making of Soap, Porcelaine, and Dreſſing ſome Kinds of Leather, Cutting and Engraving upon Glaſs, making and tempering of Steel, *&c. &c.* And whether it be not the Intereſt of the People of *England* to give a *rational Invitation* to ſuch Foreign Manufacturers to ſettle here, for the Increaſe of uſeful and induſtrious Hands, which are beyond Diſpute the Strength and Riches of a Nation?

III. WHETHER the Trade of *Great Britain* is not capable of being farther extended?—— And whether more Hands, New Adventurers, a larger Correſpondence, greater Induſtry, Frugality, and Sobriety, might not encreaſe our Manufactures, Commerce, Navigation, and national Riches? And whether the Connection of thoſe that come hither with their Relations and Acquaintance left behind, would not extend our Trade by New Correſpondence, New Commiſſions, and New Traffick?

SECTION

IT were greatly to be wiſhed, that the Contents of this Law were univerſally known, that the Publick might reap the Benefit intended by it; for at preſent it ſeems to be almoſt as much forgot, as if it had never been made. However, this is a ſufficient Proof, that the Naturalization of Foreign Manufacturers, according to the Opinion of the Legiſlature, is a Means of employing the Poor, not of *taking the Bread out of their Mouths.*

SECTION III.

Materials for Labour, and for Employing the Poor.

I. WHETHER we work up at preſent all ſuch raw Materials as either are, or might be raiſed in *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, and our own Plantations, or imported from Abroad? That is, Whether we might not make uſe of much larger Quantities of * Wool, raw Silk, Cotton, Hemp, Flax, Iron, Copper,

* WOOL.] The Oppoſers of this Bill here object, that we lately worked up all the Wool that grew in the Kingdom, without the Aſſiſtance of Foreigners; therefore they infer, there would not be Wool enough for a greater Number.——But they are deſired to conſider,

I. THAT this Kingdom might raiſe and feed much greater Quantities of Sheep, than there are at preſent, by proper Improvements, without taking any Lands from Tillage;—nay, greatly to the enriching of the ploughed Grounds. The Method of feeding Sheep upon Turneps during Winter, is ſcarce known in the Principality of *Wales*, and very little practiſed in many Counties in *England*; ſo that they are obliged to ſell off their Increaſe every Year, leſt they ſhould have too large a Stock for the Winter Fodder.

II. THAT the *French* import annually from *Bilboa*, &c. about 12000 Bags of fine Wool; beſides the vaſt Quantities of a coarſer Sort, which are brought into *Provence*

per, Braſs, * Tin, Lead, *&c.* in our reſpective Manufactures, than we now do? And whether there can be a Want of Materials, as long as they may be either raiſed at Home, or imported from Abroad?

II. WHETHER

Provence and *Languedoc*, from *Catalonia* and the South of *Spain*; Whereas the *Engliſh* do not import 5000 Bags in all. Likewiſe the *French* bring Wool from *Africa* and *Turkey*, alſo from the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, and *Poland*; all which Markets might be as open to the *Engliſh* as they are to the *French*, if our Commerce were ſufficiently enlarged.

III. IF there ſhould, by Means of a large and open Trade, and in Exchange for our Fiſh and Manufactures, be an *Increaſe* of the Importation of *raw* Silk, Cotton, Flax, *&c.* to be worked up and *wore* at Home,—the Conſequence would be the ſame to the Kingdom, as if there was an actual Increaſe of the Growth of Wool, becauſe this would be a Means of *ſaving* ſo much Wool to be manufactured for other Purpoſes.

IV. IF the above Reaſoning of the Objectors were concluſive, then it would follow, that the *French* muſt diſmiſs at leaſt three fourths of their Woolen Manufacturers, as there is hardly Wool enough growing in *France* to employ a fourth Part of their preſent Numbers: And the *Engliſh* muſt ſend away ALL their Silk Manufacturers, as there is no raw Silk growing in *England*. Theſe are the Concluſions which neceſſarily follow from ſuch Principles!

* TIN.] An higher Duty upon the Exportation of Block-Tin, and proper Encouragement for exporting it when manufactured, would create Employment for thouſands of our Poor: By theſe Means we ſhould reap all poſſible Advantage from this valuable Metal,—eſpecially as it is almoſt entirely in our own Hands.

II. WHETHER in fact any Country wants the neceſſary Materials for Labour, either in itſelf, or by Introduction, if the Inhabitants were inclined to uſe them, and were properly inſtructed?

III. WHETHER we may not give a better Account of ſome Perſons at preſent wanting Employment, than by the Suppoſition of want of Materials for Labour?

SECTION IV.

The Cauſes of ſo many Perſons being now unemployed.

I. IS there not ſuch a Thing as the *Circulation* of *Labour*, as well as the *Circulation* of *Money?* And whether the Circulation of Money without Labour, is not rather prejudicial than ſerviceable to Society?—— Are not Lotteries, Gaming, *&c.* ſtrong and melancholly Proofs of this Matter?

II. WHETHER the true Method of finding out the Cauſes of the want of Employment is not, firſt to enquire, What are the *Impediments* to the Circulation of Labour?

III. WHETHER Labour can ſo well be circulated in a Country thinly peopled, as in one

very populous, where the Inhabitants create mutual Employment for each other? And whether it is not obſervable, that the People in thoſe Countries which are thinly inhabited, are forced to ſeek for Employment in *diſtant populous* Places, for want of Work at Home?

IV. WHETHER Monopolies, excluſive Privileges, and Combinations, are not ſo many Clogs upon the Circulation of Labour?

V. WHETHER the * artificial Wants of Mankind, *properly circumſtanced, and under due Regulations*, are not the great Maſter-Spring of the Machine of Commerce?

VI. BUT

* THE *natural* Wants of Mankind can be but few. Food, and Raiment, and Shelter from the Weather, are very ſimple Things, which the moſt *indolent* Perſons might generally procure for themſelves, as far as would anſwer the Purpoſes of *Animal* Life. But as ſuch a State would be little different from that of *Brutes*, moſt of thoſe *moral Obligations* which now conſtitute *ſocial* Virtue, or *relative* Duty, would have been *unknown*.—If therefore it was the Wiſdom of Providence, that there ſhould be Relations and Subordinations in Society, the *artificial* Wants of Mankind will ever be found to be relative to their Stations; and the better any Perſon diſcharges the Duties of that Sphere of Life he belongs to, the more he will be enabled to contribute to the preſent Happineſs of Society, by promoting a *regular* and *permanent* Circulation of Induſtry and Labour, through the ſeveral Ranks he is connected with. This is an *eſſential* Point, in which Mankind differ from the Brute Creation.

VI. BUT when these Wants degenerate into *Vice*, *Intemperance*, and *Extravagance*, whether they do not then become a great Obstacle to the *constant* and *regular* Motion of this Machine;—and indeed, have a necessary Tendency to make it stop at last?

VII. WHETHER *Commerce*, considered in its *general* Extent, and GOOD MORALS, are not *inseparably* connected? Whether therefore, the great Corruption of Morals now prevailing, is not the true Source of many Persons wanting Employment, as they become disinclined to Labour, and cannot be trusted with Materials to work up?

VIII. WHETHER the artificial Wants of *Gin-drinkers* are of so *extensive* or *commercial* a Nature, as those of sober, frugal, and industrious People, who exchange their own Labour for the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, that is, for the Labour of others; and increase the Number of Inhabitants by breeding up *Families* to *continue* the same honest Course after them?

IX. WHETHER Gaming and Debauchery, Poverty, Idleness, and Disease, can, in the main, create any Employment, but for two Sorts of Occupations, the *Hangman*, and the *Sexton?*

X. WHETHER a depraved and vicious People will work as *cheap*, or as *well*, as thoſe that are ſober and virtuous? Whether our Trade to foreign Parts doth not ſuffer upon this Account? And whether more Goods might not be exported, if we worked either cheaper or better than we now do? Whether therefore our *National Vices* are not in this View alſo another Cauſe of the want of Employment?

XI. IN controverted Points of Commerce (where there are Petitions and Counter-Petitions, where Merchants and Traders in their Applications to Parliament aſſert direct Contradictions) is there not an eaſy natural Way of diſcovering the general and national Intereſt, *viz.* ☞ *Which Scheme tends to find a conſtant Employ for moſt Hands at Home, and to export moſt Labour Abroad?* And whether the Anſwer to this Queſtion ought not *always* to decide the Controverſy?

XII. WHETHER the keeping out of ſober, frugal, and induſtrious Foreigners, will create more Employment at Home, or be a Means of exporting greater Quantities of Manufactures Abroad?

SECTION

SECTION V.

Other ſuppoſed Cauſes of the want of Employment propoſed and conſidered.

I. WHETHER it is poſſible in the Nature of Things, for ALL Trades and Profeſſions to be *over-ſtocked?* And whether, if you were to remove any proportional Number from each Calling, the Remainder would not have the ſame Grounds of Complaint they had before?

II. WHETHER, in fact, any Tradeſman thinks there are too many of *other Occupations* to become *his* CUSTOMERS;—tho' narrow, ſelfiſh Views lead him to wiſh there were fewer of his own Trade?

III. * IF a particular Trade is at any Time over-ſtocked, will not the Diſeaſe cure itſelf? That is, Will not ſome Perſons take to other Trades,

* SOME Trades muſt ever be fluctuating according to the Changes of Dreſs, and the Caprice of Faſhions; and therefore, for the moſt Part, will either have *too many*, or *too few* Hands belonging to them. In ſuch Circumſtances, many Perſons belonging to the Trade which is deſerted by the Mode, will want Employment: But who can urge this as an Argument againſt a Naturalization Bill? And would not the ſame Thing happen, if there were but a Tenth of the People in *England* which now are? And do not all Towns thinly inhabited experience this?

LIKEWISE

Trades, and fewer young People be bred up to that which is leaſt profitable? And Whether any other Remedy but this, is not, in fact, the curing *one*, *tranſient* Diſorder, by bringing on *many* which are *dangerous* and will grow *inveterate?*

IV. If we have a conſiderable Number of Hands now unemployed, for the want of a Demand for their Labour, Which would be the right Policy, To drive out ſome of the preſent? Or admit more Conſumers?

V. Suppose the Expulſion of one half of the People of all Denominations in *Great Britain*,—Would this be a Means of procuring more Work for them that remained? Or would not *five* Millions more of People increaſe all Employments and Conſumptions one half?

VI. Whether Sir *Joſiah Child* did not call it a Vulgar Error to ſay, *We have more Hands than we can employ?* Whether he was a Judge of Trade? And Whether it is not an infallible Maxim, That one Man's Labour creates Employment for another?

SECTION

Likewise a long and general National Mourning is another Cauſe, why there muſt be a great Demand for one Species of Goods, and none at all for another.—But Accidents of this Nature are not to be prevented; and the ſame Thing might have happened in *France*, or in any other Country, without any Relation to the Number of People in that Country.

SECTION VI.

The Plea, "Let us firſt find Employment for "theſe Foreigners before we invite them "over," *conſidered and examined.*

I. WHETHER a Naturalization Bill ever *did*, or *can* paſs in any Country upon ſuch a Plan? And Whether this Reaſoning would be admitted in any other Caſe?

II. IF *Vacancies* are firſt to be found out in ſome *particular* Trades, and kept *unfilled*, before the Foreigners are permitted to come over, What Kind of Trades are they to be? And What *Cuſtomers* can *wait* ſo long?

III. ARE not young People bound Apprentices every Day to Bakers, Butchers, Taylors, *&c?* Do they know of any Vacancies before they ſet up? Or is it poſſible, if a Perſon wants to buy Bread, Meat, or Cloaths, he can ſtay till the Apprentices are out of their Time, and have ſet up for themſelves?

IV. WHAT Vacancies are there now in *Holland?* And yet if forty thouſand Foreigners were to offer to ſettle there, Would they not be all accepted?

V. WHETHER

V. WHETHER the Quantity of Labour, or the Means of Employment, are not in Proportion to the Number of Inhabitants? Whether therefore, if there were but ten thouſand People in this Iſland, Many of thoſe would not want Employ? And Whether indeed, upon ſuch a Suppoſition, the People would not be in the ſame Caſe with the wild *Indians* of *America?*

VI. IF there were but ten thouſand Inhabitants, and moſt of thoſe in want of a proper and regular Employ, Would this be a good Reaſon why no Foreigners ſhould be called in? —Or if this want of Employment for the Natives is a ſufficient Reaſon againſt the Admiſſion of Foreigners, doth it not hold equally concluſive againſt permitting more Children to be born, till thoſe who are already born are all provided with Employments?

VII. HOW different from this is our own Policy with Regard to our Plantations, where the Value of Numbers of People is juſtly regarded?

SECTION VII.

The Encreaſe of Inhabitants the STRENGTH *of a Kingdom.*

I. WHETHER there be not a certain Text in the Bible, in relation to which,

which the Generality of the *Engliſh* are *hereditary* Infidels, *viz.* Prov. xiv. 28. *In the Multitude of People is the King's Honour?* Whether this agrees with their Maxim, That we have too many People already?

II. WHETHER the *French* do not pay a greater Regard to this Obſervation of the wiſeſt of Men, than we do? And while they are encouraging Matrimony in poor People, by the moſt engaging and honourable Methods, Whether our Church-wardens in the Country do not often uſurp a Power to forbid the Banns of poor People, leſt they ſhould become burdenſome to the Pariſh?

III. WHETHER the young Duke of *Burgundy*, when he arrives to thirty Years of Age, may not be able to bring into the Field a conſiderable Body of young Men, in the Flower of their Age, who owed their Birth to his? ——Whether it is to be expected, that one *Engliſhman* is to beat ten of theſe?

IV. WHAT is the Strength of a Country? ——Whether thoſe Countries are not the ſtrongeſt (*cæteris paribus*) which are the moſt populous?

V. CAN a poor Nation equip or maintain a large *Naval* Force? Can a Country thinly inhabited be otherwiſe than poor? Or can

ſuch a Country ſpare ſufficient Numbers to fight its Battels, without greatly injuring its Agriculture and Manufactures?

VI. WHICH is the juſteſt Notion, this of the *Engliſh*, That they are too populous;—or that of Sir *William Petty*, who wiſhed, That all the Inhabitants of *Scotland* and *Ireland* were tranſplanted into *England*, and then thoſe Countries ſunk in the Sea?

VII. WHETHER, according to theſe narrow Notions, *That we have too many People already*, it doth not follow, that it is a *national* Advantage, that ſo many People lay violent Hands upon themſelves,——leſt we ſhould be *over-burdened* with Numbers?

VIII. WHETHER there is any Country, in which there are ſo frequent Executions,—or ſo many who kill themſelves by their Intemperance and Debauchery, as in *England?*

IX. Is there any Nation, Proteſtant or Popiſh, where the Mode of living Batchelors prevails ſo much as it doth at preſent among Us?—Where there are ſo few Children the Iſſue of the Marriage State?— And where ſo many young Perſons die between the Birth and the Age of Twenty One Years? Whether therefore there is any Country where a Naturalization Bill is ſo neceſſary as it is now in *England*,

England, for the keeping up the preſent Stock of Inhabitants?

SECTION VIII.

The Increaſe of People the RICHES *of a Country.*

I. WHAT are the Riches of a Country? ——Land? Money? or Labour? What is the Value of Land, but in Proportion to the Numbers of People? What is Money, but a Common Meaſure, Tally, or Counter, to ſet forth or denominate the Price of Labour in the ſeveral Transfers of it?

II. IF Labour is the true Riches, and Money only the Sign or Tally, Is not that Country the wealthieſt, which has the moſt Labour? And hath not that Country the moſt Labour, which hath the moſt People to create mutual Employment for each other?

III. WAS a Country *thinly* inhabited ever *rich?*——Was a *populous* Country ever *poor?*

IV. WHETHER the ſingle Province of *Holland* * is above half as large as the County of *Devon?*

* THE Sentiments of his late Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, may be worth conſidering on this Occaſion, both on account of the Authority of the Perſon and the Reaſon of the Thing. In the Tract entitled; *Propoſals*

Devon? Whether it hath not ten Times the Inhabitants, and at leaſt twenty Times the Riches? Does not raiſe more Money for publick Service, and furniſh larger Fleets and Armies?

V. WHAT

made to the States General for redreſſing and amending the Trade of the Republick, he obſerves, Page 12 and 13, That among the moral and political Cauſes for the ſettling and eſtabliſhing of Commerce in that Republick, the following were the chief, "The unalterable Maxim "and fundamental Law, relating to the free Exerciſe of "different Religions.—This Toleration and Connivance "hath been found the moſt effectual Means to draw "Foreigners to ſettle and reſide here, and ſo become "inſtrumental to the peopling of theſe Provinces.

"THE conſtant Policy of the Republick has been to "make this Country a perpetual, ſafe, and ſecure Aſy-"lum for all perſecuted and oppreſſed Strangers: No "Alliance, no Treaty or Regard for, or Solicitations "from any Potentate whatever, has at any Time been "able to weaken or deſtroy, or make the State recede "from protecting thoſe who have fled to it for their "own Security and Self-Preſervation.

"THROUGHOUT the whole Courſe of all the Perſe-"cutions and Oppreſſions that have occurred in other "Countries, the ſteady Adherence of the Republick to "this fundamental Law, has been the Cauſe that many "People have not only fled hither for Refuge, with "their whole Stock in ready Caſh, and their moſt va-"luable Effects, but have alſo ſettled and eſtabliſhed "many Trades, Fabricks, Manufactures, Arts and "Sciences in this Country, & notwithſtanding the firſt "Materials for the ſaid Fabricks and Manufactures "were almoſt wholly wanting in it, and not to be pro-"cured but at a great Expence from foreign Parts."

V. WHAT is the Balance of Trade in favour of one Nation againſt another?——If there are forty thouſand Perſons in *France* or *Sweden*, working up their Manufactures to ſend to *England*;—and only ten thouſand at work in *England* for *France* or *Sweden*, Which Nation hath the Balance?——If it is allowed that *France* and *Sweden* hath the Balance, would it not be to the Advantage of *England* to get that Number of Manufacturers, by which they exceed us, removed out of *France* and *Sweden*, and ſettled here?

VII. WERE an Eſtimate to be taken of the Wealth of *England*, which Way would it be rated? By Acres? By Houſes? By Stock? By Merchandize? But do not all theſe depend on the Number of Inhabitants, who are to occupy, to uſe, to buy and ſell, to manufacture, tranſfer, and export theſe Things, or the Produce of them?

SECTION IX.

The Increaſe of People the Increaſe of RENT *to the* Landlord.

I. WHETHER Lands near *London* are not rented at forty Times the Value of Lands of equal Goodneſs in ſome of the remote

remote Parts of *England*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*? What is this Difference in the Rent owing to, but the ſuperior Number of Inhabitants? And that theſe diſtant Lands pay any Rent at all, is it not owing to the carrying the Produce of them to diſtant *populous* Places?

II. If the City of *Briſtol* could be removed forty Miles off, would not all the Eſtates now around it ſink in Value?

III. If a Peſtilence was to ſweep away 100,000 People in the North or Weſt of *England*, and none from other Parts permitted to come in to ſupply this Loſs, would not the Rents of Lands immediately fall in thoſe Counties?—On the contrary, if 100,000 Foreigners, of various Employments, were to be naturalized, and increaſe the Conſumptions of the Produce of the neighbouring Lands, would there not be a proportionable Riſe in its Value?

IV. How can Tenants pay their Rents, if they cannot find a Market? And what is a Market, but a Collection of Inhabitants?

SECTION X.

The Improvements *of Lands depend upon the Increaſe of People.*

I. WHETHER the Lands of *Great Britain* are improved to the utmoſt?——And what is the Reaſon that one Acre of Land near a large Town, ſhall produce ten times the Crop that an Acre of *unimproved* Land (though in itſelf of equal Goodneſs) generally yields in a diſtant Country Place? If the Soil of the Town is the Cauſe of this Fertility, what occaſions ſuch a Quantity of Soil or Compoſt? Is it not the Number of Inhabitants?

II. ARE there not Millions of Acres in private Hands (beſides Commons, Marſhes, Fens, Heaths, and Foreſts) which might produce ten Times the Quantity of Herbage or Proviſions they now do, were they properly cultivated, and a Demand for the Produce?

III. WHAT Encouragement hath a Gentleman to cultivate and improve his Lands, if his Gains thereby are not at leaſt equal to the Expence he may be at? And from whence can his Gains ariſe in an *inland* County, but from

from an Increaſe of Inhabitants to conſume the Increaſe of Produce?

IV. Is the preſent Complaint a juſt one, That Country People are too fond of breeding up their Children to eaſy handicraft Trades, rather than to the laborious Buſineſs of Huſbandry? And will the keeping out of Foreigners mend that Matter?

V. If the Country is the great Source of Recruits for Trades and Services, whether thoſe Foreigners, who now come over as Journeymen and Footmen, do not *eventually* prevent the taking great Numbers from the Plough? —Suppoſe theſe Foreigners were all expelled, would not their Places be filled up, for the moſt Part, with Perſons who muſt otherwiſe have been bred up to Country Buſineſs?

VI. Are there no Improvements yet to be learned from other Nations in point of Agriculture? And are we ſure that Foreigners, from whom we have received ſo many uſeful Diſcoveries in ſowing of Graſſes, in Gardening, and other Parts of Huſbandry, can teach us nothing more?

VII. Was a Country thinly inhabited ever well cultivated?—Which Parts of *England* are the beſt improved? Thoſe which have the feweſt,

feweſt, or thoſe which have the greateſt Number of Inhabitants?

VIII. Is it Policy and good Prudence to leave ſo many vaſt Wilds and Commons near the Metropolis of a Kingdom? What are they now but a Rendezvous for Highway-Men, a Scene for the Commiſſion of Robberies, and a Means of eſcaping?——Could all this have been, if theſe Places were well cultivated, and *properly encloſed*, and better inhabited?

SECTION XI.

The Landed *and the* Commercial *Intereſts of the* Kingdom *center in the ſame Point.*

I. WHAT is the true Landed Intereſt?——Can any Scheme advantageous to our *National Commerce* be repugnant to the Intereſt of the Land-holders?

II. If Commerce is depreſſed, if our Rivals get our Trade, if Houſes are forſaken, Merchants remove, and Manufacturers forced to fly away,——what then becomes of Farms and Dairies? How will the Tenant pay his Rent? How will the Landed Gentleman be able to ſupport his Rank and Station, and allow for Taxes and Repairs?

III. IF Commerce be encouraged, and Merchants and Manufacturers grow more numerous, if all Fetters and Shackles upon Trade are taken off, if there be a briſker Circulation, and a ſurer Market, where will theſe Advantages terminate but upon the Landed Intereſt?

IV. WHEN Landed Gentlemen are perſwaded to exclude Foreigners, and to lay Reſtraints upon Trade, do they not act againſt their own Intereſt? And are they not the *Dupes* of thoſe *monopolizing* Tradeſmen, who have ſet up a low, perſonal Intereſt of their own in Oppoſition to that of the Publick?

SECTION XII.

The Caſe of Foreigners who have Money in the Publick Funds, and of rich Merchants and Tradeſmen in ſome foreign Countries.

I. IF Labour be the Riches of a Country, what Sort of Inhabitants create moſt Labour?—Thoſe that can afford to purchaſe a few of the Conveniencies and Ornaments of Life? Or thoſe who are able to pay for a great many? If the latter, whether it is not the Intereſt of the Nation to INVITE all the Foreigners, who have Money in our publick Funds, to come over, and ſpend it among Us?

II. IF

II. IF there are between 15 and 20 Millions of Money in our publick Funds due to Foreigners, is not this Sum to be conſidered in the ſame Light as a Mortgage on a private Gentleman's Eſtate?——And in that Caſe, is it not the Borrower's Intereſt to INVITE and REQUEST the Lender to reſide on, and pay Rent for Part of the mortgaged Eſtate, and to buy all he wants of the Tenants and Tradeſmen thereunto belonging? Muſt the Lender *ſolicit* this Matter as an *eſpecial Favour*, and pay a large Sum of Money for the *Permiſſion* of ſpending the Intereſt of the borrowed Money on the Borrower's Eſtate?

III. ARE there not ſome late Inſtances to be given of Foreigners, where they have put their Money in our Funds for the ſake of Security, and yet have choſe to reſide out of *England*, on account of the Averſion of the *Engliſh* towards Foreigners?

IV. ARE there not many Countries in *Europe*, where Merchants and Tradeſmen are treated with much Contempt on account of their Profeſſion? Are there not ſome, where they dare not appear wealthy, or diſcover their Riches? Would it be any Detriment to this Kingdom, if ſuch Perſons were *invited* here? And ought they not to be told by the *publick Voice of the Nation*, that they ſhall be welcome, and enjoy the Benefit of a free Conſtitution?

V. ARE foreign Tradeſmen, Merchants, and Mechanicks acquainted with the Nature of our Conſtitution? Do they reaſon and debate about Politicks as we do in *England?* And when they hear that a Naturalization Bill is rejected by the Repreſentatives of the *Engliſh* Nation, what can they conclude, but that Foreigners are refuſed Admittance;—or at leaſt, that they are *not protected* by the general Laws of the Kingdom, in the ſame Manner as the Natives are? Ought we not therefore to undeceive them in ſo material a Point?

SECTION XIII.

Taxes of all Kinds, particularly the Poor Tax.

I. ON what are all Taxes to be raiſed, but on the Labour of the People, and the Things they conſume? And in which Country will the Taxes produce moſt? Where there are few, or many Inhabitants?

II. IF a certain *Sum* muſt be raiſed for the Exigencies of the Government, and the Paying of the Intereſt of the publick Debts, and there be a Deficiency in the ſeveral Branches of Cuſtoms and Exciſes,——How is this Deficiency to be made up, but by an heavier *Land-Tax?* Whether therefore the whole Body

Body of the *Landed Intereſt* are not concerned on *this* account, as well as all others, to promote the Increaſe of Inhabitants?

III. WHETHER the *French* Refugees did not maintain their own Poor? And were alſo aſſeſſed in many Places towards the Support of the *Engliſh* Poor?—If this is the Fact, what Grounds were there for the Clamour, That a Naturalization Bill would encreaſe the Poor Tax?

IV. WOULD it be any Diſadvantage to the Landed and Commercial Intereſts of the Kingdom, that ſo many Foreigners come over as would eaſe the *Natives* by contributing 20, or 30,000*l.* a Year to the Relief of their Poor?

V. SUPPOSE all the Foreigners ſettled here for ſeventy Years paſt, and their Deſcendants were now expelled,—Would this be a Means of leſſening the Numbers of the *Engliſh* Poor, or reducing the Poor Tax? Would not the Burden be ſtill heavier upon the Landed Intereſt?

VI. WHETHER the beſt Way of judging of the Expediency of the Admiſſion of Foreigners, would not be by keeping an Account, by way of *Debtor* and *Creditor*, between *England* and the Foreigners who have ſettled here for ſeventy Years paſt? *Viz.*

ENGLAND

ENGLAND *Debtor* to Foreigners for Manufactures, Rents of Houses and Lands, Consumption of Provisions, Increase of Commerce and Navigation, Payment of Taxes, Customs, and Excises.

ENGLAND *Creditor* to Foreigners by Sums expended on, or Charities given to such Foreigners.——And on which Side would the immense BALANCE fall?

SECTION XIV.

*The * Birth-right of an Englishman.*

I. WHAT is the Birth-right of an *Englishman?*——Is it a Right or Privilege to be poor and miserable, while his Neighbours are increasing in Wealth and Commerce? Is such a Birth-right worth *Twelve-pence?* Is it worth preserving?

II. WHO

* "BUT to come to the Subject I have now undertaken, which is to examine what the Consequences would be, upon the Supposition that the *Whigs* were now restored to their Power.—The Bill [for the Naturalization of foreign Protestants] now to be repealed, would then be re-enacted; and the *Birth-right* of an *Englishman* reduced again to the Value of *Twelve-pence.*" EXAMINER, N° XXV. *Jan.* 25, 1710.

II. WHO are the Perſons that would attempt to deprive *Engliſhmen* of their Birth-right? —Such who propoſe to make *England* rich and flouriſhing, the Center of Trade, and a Magazine for other Nations?—Or thoſe that would cramp and confine its Commerce, countenance Monopolies and Combinations, prevent the Increaſe of Inhabitants and the Conſumption of Labour, under a Pretence of preſerving the *Purity* of the *Engliſh* Blood?

III. ARE not all Attempts to deprive us of the Benefits of Labour, Attempts upon our Birth-rights? Are not all Limitations and Reſtrictions, whereby *Engliſhmen* are obliged to buy the *dearer* and ſell the *cheaper*, ſo many Invaſions on their Rights and Liberties? Who are the Perſons guilty of theſe Crimes?

IV. WAS there any Clauſe ever offered in a Naturalization Bill to deprive the Freemen of Towns Corporate of their Rights and Privileges?——And was it not always declared by the Promoters of ſuch Bills, that Freemen ſhould preſerve theſe [*ſuppoſed*] Privileges, as long as they themſelves would chuſe to keep them, and till they would petition to be releaſed from them?

SECTION

SECTION XV.

The real Intereſt of Tradeſmen.

I. WHAT are the Privileges of Freemen?——Are they real, or imaginary? Would the Inhabitants of *Birmingham*, *Mancheſter*, and *Leeds*, accept ſuch Privileges if they were offered them?

II. ARE the Tradeſmen in *Weſtminſter* the *poorer* for being *without*, or the Tradeſmen in *London* the *richer* for being *within* the Liberties of the City?

III. IF a Tradeſman ſells the *dearer* by excluding thoſe who are not *free*, doth he not *buy* the *dearer* of other Tradeſmen for the like Reaſon?——If his Intention is only to exclude Rivals, do not the Freemen of other Trades exclude their Rivals upon the ſame Motives?—And when other Tradeſmen exclude their Rivals, do they not in fact exclude ſuch as might be his Cuſtomers?

IV. Is not every Tradeſman willing to buy as *cheap*, and ſell as *much* as may be? But how can he do either where Trade is not free?

SECTION

SECTION XVI.

There must be Rivals in Commerce either at Home or Abroad.

I. IF there will and must be Rivals either at *Home* or *Abroad*,—which is the most detrimental to a Kingdom?—To have *Competitors* at Home? or to be *out-rivalled* Abroad?

II. WAS a Nation ever hurt by Competitions at Home?——And is not the Proverb, *Penny wise and Pound foolish*, manifestly verified in those, who would prevent Competitions between Merchants, Tradesmen, and Mechanicks?

III. WHAT is the Publick Good? Is it not, for the most Part, the Result of Emulation among the Members of the same Society? And what would become of Industry, Temperance, Frugality, and the Desire of Excelling, if there were no Emulation?

IV. WHICH is best for the Publick,—To have *Emulations* among Tradesmen and Manufacturers, or *Combinations?* And which of these hath the strongest Tendency to heighten the Price of exportable Goods, and impoverish our Country?

SECTION XVII.

The Objection, " That Foreigners would take " the Bread out of the Mouths of the Na- " tives,—and carry away the Myſteries of " Trade," *conſidered and examined.*

I. WHICH Sort of *Foreigners* are moſt to be dreaded, as taking the Bread out of the Mouths of the Natives? — Thoſe *thout* the Kingdom? or thoſe *within?*

II. IF the good People of *England* could ſee through a Teleſcope thoſe Merchants and Manufacturers in the ſeveral Parts of *Europe* who out-rival them, and prevent the Sale of their Manufactures,——would they not rather ſay, ☞ *Thoſe are the People that take the Bread out of our Mouths?*——But will the Refuſal of a Naturalization Bill be a Means of curing this Evil?

III. WHO are thoſe that have carried the Myſteries of Trade out of this Kingdom?—— Foreigners? or *Engliſhmen?* And whether there are not *Engliſhmen* very lately ſettled in moſt Kingdoms in *Europe*, who teach the Natives of thoſe Countries the particular Trades in which we moſt excel?——Whether alſo there are not undeniable Proofs of their having ſolicited

ſolicited Charters to exclude Goods of the ſame Kind coming from *England?*

IV. ARE there not a Variety of Tools now making in *England*, and daily ſhipping off for the uſe of Manufacturers in Foreign Countries? And will not the *Engliſh* Maſters and Journeymen go over to teach Foreigners the Uſe of thoſe Tools, if they are invited and ſufficiently *encouraged?*

V. IF the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Pruſſia*, &c. are intent upon ſetting up any *Engliſh* Manufactures,—which would be their likelieſt Way to ſucceed?——To draw off *Engliſh* Manufacturers by Premiums and Salaries? or to be at the Expence of ſending their own Subjects, and maintaining them here a long Time to learn the Trade? Which is the moſt expeditious Method? The moſt ſecure, the cheapeſt, and that which has been moſt frequently and ſucceſsfully practiſed?

SECTION XVIII.

The permitting the Natives to go to our Colonies and Plantations,—and the Inviting of Foreigners to come in to increaſe our Numbers, ſhewn to terminate in the ſame good Policy?

I. WHETHER there is not a certain Fundamental Principle in Govern-

ment and Commerce, *That an Increaſe of Labour will be attended with an Increaſe of People?*

II. WHETHER Colonies and Plantations, *under* * *proper Regulations*, do not increaſe Labour?

III. WHETHER the Kingdom of *Spain* would have been depopulated by the *Spaniſh* Settlements in *America*, if all the Manufactures ſent to that Country had been worked up in *Old Spain?*

IV. AS great Multitudes of *French*, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Italians*, and other Nations, are now employed in the making of Manufactures, and the ſending of Proviſions to the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*,——would not *Old Spain* be a very populous Country, if theſe People, with their Wives and Families, were tranſplanted there?

V. IF there is an Increaſe of Labour in any *free* Town, will not the People flock thither from other Parts of the Kingdom, in Proportion to that Increaſe? And whether the like would

* THE Regulations here referred to may be ſeen in the VIIIth Propoſal of the *Brief Eſſay on Trade*, 2d Edit. Page 92. printed for *T. Trye*, *Holborn*. And I ſuppoſe Sir *Joſiah Child* muſt have had ſome ſuch Regulations in his Thoughts, when he pronounced it to be a VULGAR ERROR to ſay, That Colonies do leſſen the Number of People in the Mother Country.

would not hold good with reſpect to the whole Kingdom, if Foreigners were admitted?

VI. IF Foreigners were not admitted, whether the above mentioned Increaſe of Labour will not *forſake* that City, Country, or Kingdom, and fix in another where Work is *cheapeſt* done? Whether any Statutes, Reſtraints, or Prohibitions, can prevent this Conſequence? ——And whether the *Spaniards*, who have experienced this Truth to their Coſt, are not now ſetting about to amend their Error by an Admiſſion of Foreigners? Yet do not the *Engliſh* ſeem inclined to run into the ſame Error more and more?

VII. WHETHER it is not prudent to keep open *two Doors* in a State, one for ſuch Perſons to *go out* to our Colonies, as may have their Reaſons for ſuch Departure, and the other to *admit* thoſe Perſons in, as are inclined to live among us?

VIII. IF any among ourſelves have been imprudent or unfortunate, and would willingly retire to a Place where their paſt Conduct was not known;—or if any are moved by Ambition to ſeek their Fortunes in foreign Countries, is it not the beſt Policy to *open a Way* for ſuch Adventurers to go to *our own* Colonies and Plantations, rather than to let them retire to other Countries, and probably to our Rivals?

SECTION

SECTION XIX.

If a Naturalization Bill was to paſs, Whether Beggars would be the likelieſt to come over?

I. DO Beggars want the Inducement of a Naturalization Bill?——If a thouſand foreign Beggars were now to come over, have the * Juſtices of the Peace, the Mayors, or other Civil Magiſtrates, any *legal* Authority of ordering them out of the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, or of levying a Tax, or applying any Publick Money for that Purpoſe? If they have not, what Encouragement would a Naturalization Bill give to Beggars more than they have already?

II. ARE the Lazy and Indolent the likelieſt to leave their native Country? Do even ſuch among the *Scotch*, *Welſh*, (tho' upon the ſame Continent) or *Iriſh*, as are Beggars *by Profeſſion*, take the Pains to come into *England* to ſet up *that Trade?* If any of the Natives of thoſe Countries are found begging in *England*, are they not, for the moſt part, induſtrious People who came for work, but were taken ſick, or reduced by unavoidable Misfortunes?

III. WHAT

* THE Juſtices of the Peace have a Power of *paſſing*, that is of ſending away *Iriſh* Beggars into *Ireland*, but no Foreigners as I am informed.

III. WHAT could a lazy and indolent Foreigner propoſe to himſelf by coming into *England*, where he doth not underſtand ſo much as the Language of the Country? Or how would ſuch a Perſon defray the Expence of a Paſſage hither?

IV. IF any *Engliſhman* propoſes to puſh his Fortune in a foreign Country, doth he intend to live by Lazineſs and Idleneſs? And can a foreign Merchant or Mechanick here in *England* hope to thrive by any other Means, than by an Application and Induſtry *equal* at leaſt, if not *ſuperior* to that of the Natives?

V. Is that Objection, "That we ſhall ſwarm "with foreign Beggars," conſiſtent with the other, "That Foreigners will come over to "underwork the Natives, and take the Bread "out of their Mouths?"

SECTION XX.

If a Naturalization Bill ſhould paſs, Whether the Vicious and Abandoned would be the likelieſt to come over.

I. WHAT Reſtraints are put upon the Vicious and Abandoned from coming over now?—Do not all the Rakes in *Europe* know by the Example and Converſation of the *Engliſh* that travel Abroad, that *England*

land is a Country where People may be as wicked as they pleaſe? And what is it to a Rake, a Proſtitute, or Sharper, whether they are naturalized or not? Are not they, for the moſt part, *Citizens of the World?*

II. When foreign Merchants and Tradeſmen are obliged to leave their Country on Motives of Conſcience and Religion, are they ſo likely to increaſe our Luxuries, and debauch our Morals, as foreign Cooks, Singers, Dancers, and Fidlers, whoſe very Livelihood depends upon adding Incentives to our Follies, and feeding our Vices?

III. If our Rivals had it in their Choice to ſend either a Colony of Merchants and Manufacturers,——or of Singers and Fidlers into each Trading Town in *England*,——Which of the two would they be the likelieſt to ſend? And which do we ſeem *moſt diſpoſed to receive?*

IV. Whether the Manufacturing Poor in any Country are ſo debauched and immoral as in *England?* Is there not therefore a greater Danger, that the *Engliſh* ſhould corrupt the Foreigners, than be corrupted by them?

V. Is not *Holland* open to all the World? And are the People obſerved to be more debauched upon that Account?——Or was it found by Experience, that we in this Nation

were

were corrupted in our Morals by the Reception of the *Flemiſh* and *French* Refugees?

SECTION XXI.

The moſt efficacious, as well as the gentleſt Methods of reforming a People's Morals.

I. IS the Naturalization of Foreign Proteſtants inconſiſtent with any good Scheme that can be deviſed for the Reformation of Morals? And indeed, will not both Schemes co-operate beſt together? That is, Will not good Examples be the beſt Recommendation and Enforcement of good Laws?

II. Is not Emulation a ſtrong Principle in human Nature?——And particularly* ſo in the

* THE ingenious *Abbe du Bos*, in his *Critical Reflections on Poetry and Painting*, Vol. II. Chap. xv. Page 196. makes a very pertinent and uſeful Obſervation on this Head.

" THE preſent *Engliſh*, ſays he, are not deſcended, " generally ſpeaking, from the *Britons* who inhabited " that Iſland when the *Romans* ſubdued it. Nevertheleſs, the Strokes with which *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* cha- " racteriſe the *Britons*, are extremely well ſuited to the " *Engliſh*; for the one were not more ſubject to Jea- " louſy [the Impatience of being outrivalled] than the " other. *Tacitus* obſerves, that *Agricola* found no bet- " ter Method of engaging the ancient *Britons* to make

the Inhabitants of this Iſland in regard to Foreigners? Might it not therefore be made very inſtrumental in promoting the Reformation of the Natives?

III. HATH not the Method of Whipping, ſending to Bridewel, to the Plantations, and even Hanging, been long enough practiſed?—yet theſe

" their Children learn Latin, as well as Rhetorick, and " the other polite Arts in uſe among the *Romans*, than " to excite their *Emulation*, by making them aſhamed " to ſee themſelves excelled by the *Gauls*. The Spirit " of the *Britons*, ſaid *Agricola*, is of a better Frame " than that of the *Gauls*; and if they have a mind to " take Pains, it depends entirely on themſelves to ſur- " paſs their Neighbours. *Agricola*'s Artifice had its de- " ſired Effect; and the *Britons*, who before ſcorned to " ſpeak Latin, grew even deſirous of acquiring the Beau- " ties of the *Roman* Eloquence. ☞ Let the *Engliſh* them- " ſelves judge, whether the Artifice uſed by *Agricola* " might not be employed among them at preſent with " the like Succeſs."

THE Reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed at the mentioning another Example of the like Nature, though of an *inferior* Kind, as it is ſo recent and applicable to the preſent Subject. The chief Gardiner of a late noble Lord employed a great Number of *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Labourers in making new Gardens; but could not get them to perform their Work with any tolerable Degree of Induſtry and Care, 'till he hit upon the happy Expedient of ſeparating the two Nations, and exciting their Emulation againſt each other. This had all the Succeſs he could deſire: And they did more Work, and in a better Manner, when they were told, it was *for the Honour of England*,—and *for the Honour of Ireland*, than for any other Conſiderations he could urge.

theſe Severities have had no good Influence on the Morals of the People. Is it not therefore requiſite that ſome other Expedient ſhould be tried? And if it has been made evident, that a Naturalization Bill would be an Inducement *only* to ſober and induſtrious Foreigners to come over, may not a Spirit of Emulation incite the *Engliſh* to rival them in the like virtuous Practices?

IV. SUPPOSE a Set of Journeymen and Manufacturers entered into a Combination to work only three Days in a Week, and to have an exorbitant Price for that Time,——What Arguments are to be uſed, or Methods taken, to break this deſtructive Confederacy? Will the Terror of the Civil Magiſtrate in ſuch a Conſtitution as ours be ſo effectual as the Force of Emulation? Will the Sot or the Debauchee be ſo ſoon reclaimed by any Severity, as by ſeeing Foreigners employed in caſe he refuſes to work? And is not the raiſing of Emulation a much more humane and gentle Method, more agreeable to the Genius of a free People, and in all Reſpects moſt conducive to the Publick Good?

SECTION XXII.

A Regard to the Conſtitution both in Church and State.

I. IN what Reſpect would the Introduction of Foreign Proteſtants endanger the Eſtabliſhment of our excellent CHURCH?—— What was the Opinion of our Reformers?

II. HAVE the Churches Abroad ever expreſſedan Averſion to Epiſcopacy,—to the Uſe of Liturgies,—to our Articles and Homilies,—or to any Part of our Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution? And have not they often conſidered the Church of *England* as the Pillar and Glory of the Reformation?

III. ARE not the *Engliſh* noted throughout *Europe* at this Day for broaching Heterodox Syſtems and Latitudinarian Opinions? And is there any Country, where the grand and fundamental Articles both of Natural and Revealed Religion are attacked in ſo outrageous a Manner as they are in *England?* Is there therefore any Danger that we ſhould be corrupted in our Principles by the Introduction of Foreigners?

IV. ARE

IV. ARE not the principal Clergy in Foreign Countries, both *Calviniſts* and *Lutherans*, Members of our *Society for propagating the Goſpel in Foreign Parts*, according to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England?* If therefore any of their Flocks were to remove and ſettle here,——would they adviſe them, when they came to *England*, to ſeparate from the eſtabliſhed Church?

V. DID* the Foreign Proteſtants, who fled hither from Popiſh Perſecutions, behave indecently

* HAVING been lately favoured with two Extracts from the Letters of Biſhop *Compton* to Biſhop *Fell*, I am perſuaded that I cannot do a more acceptable Thing than to preſent them to the Reader, as they contain the Sentiments of one Father of our Church to another, in their *friendly* and *private* Correſpondence; and as both theſe eminent Prelates were diſtinguiſhed for their Zeal and Affection to the Church of *England*. There is no Date of the Year in either Letter.

OCTOBER 18. "It muſt be confeſſed, that many "of the meaner Sort [of the Refugees] have not dealt ſo "well with us as they ought to have done. But then "you muſt conſider, how far the HOTSPURS of our "Church have *always provoked* them; and that the "more diſcreet and underſtanding of them were *never-"theleſs* generally for us."

JANUARY 21. "The Abſtract you ſent me [relat-"ing to the Refugees] is exceeding good, and I believe "we ſhall ſend it into all the Dioceſes: For the PA-"PISTS have been ſo very *careful* to raiſe an *evil Re-"port* againſt theſe poor Men, that it has done great "Miſchief."

cently or diſreſpectfully towards the *Engliſh* Clergy? Are not their Deſcendants at this Day as well affected towards them as any Perſons whatever? And is it at all probable, if Numbers were now to come over, that they would give any Cauſe of Complaint againſt them?

I. In what reſpect would the Introduction of Foreign Proteſtants endanger the Conſtitution of the STATE? What were the Sentiments of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Patriots and ableſt Politicians on this Matter?

II. Are Foreign Proteſtants averſe to Liberty, and in love with Slavery? Are they diſaffected to the preſent Royal Family, and in the Intereſt of the Pretender?

III. What Plots, Conſpiracies, or Treaſons, were the Foreign Proteſtants, who have ſettled here, detected in? What Books or Treatiſes have they wrote or countenanced, which tended to the Subverſion of the Rights and Privileges of the Subject, or the juſt Prerogative of the Crown?

IV. Will the *Engliſh* Conſtitution be weakened by a Naturalization Bill, at the ſame Time that *all others* are ſtrengthened by it? —Will it be right in the *French* Government to entice the *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh* Catholicks

licks to ſettle in *France*, and be wrong in the *Engliſh* to invite the perſecuted Proteſtants to come to *England*? Is not every Manufacturer, drawn from a *rival* Country a *double Loſs* to that Country?

SECTION XXIII.

The Dictates of Humanity, and the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion.

I. WHETHER the denying Refuge and Protection to the Perſecuted and Diſtreſſed, is in itſelf an humane and benevolent Proceedure? Whether it is ſuch as we would chuſe to be done to ourſelves in the like Circumſtances?

II. WHEN a Fellow Proteſtant is perſecuted in one City, and flees to another, in Obedience to his Saviour's Commands,—Whether it is conſiſtent with the Religion we profeſs, as *Chriſtians* and as *Proteſtants*, to ſhut the Gates of the City againſt him, and hinder him to come in? And whether the Foreign Proteſtants acted in that *inhoſpitable* Manner to the *Engliſh* Refugees, when they fled from the Perſecutions of the bloody Queen *Mary*?

III. WHETHER if theſe Kingdoms, for the Puniſhment of our Sins, ſhould fall again under the Power of a *Popiſh* perſecuting Bigot, we

we ſhould not eſteem it extremely inhuman and unchriſtian to be denied a Protection and Aſylum in ſome neighbouring Proteſtant Country?

IV. WHETHER every Miſcarriage of the Naturalization Bill in *England* is not induſtriouſly made uſe of by the Prieſts in *France*, as an Argument to perſwade the Proteſtants to turn Papiſts? And whether they have not from this Circumſtance, a very plauſible Pretence for ſaying, That the *Engliſh* refuſe to receive the Foreign Proteſtants in Diſtreſs, when the *Roman* Catholicks give all poſſible Aſſiſtance to the Members of their Communion? Whether therefore, when *our Practice is compared with theirs*, the *Popiſh* Religion doth not appear in a more advantageous Light, to our great Scandal and Reproach?

V. WHETHER the Government and Clergy of *France* have not their Hands ſtrengthened to perſecute the Proteſtants by our denying them Admiſſion? And whether the Perſecutions did not actually ſlacken in *France*, when our Naturalization Bill was depending, and revive again after it was defeated?——Whether therefore we ourſelves do not become in ſome Senſe the Accomplices of Popiſh Perſecutors, in direct Oppoſition to the diſtinguiſhing Principles of the Goſpel, and the Intereſt, the Strength, and Honour of our Church and Nation?

APPEN-

*THE

APPENDIX,

VIZ.

A CALM ADDRESS *to all Parties in Religion, concerning Diſaffection to the preſent Government.*

A New Edition, Corrected and Enlarged.

THE Reader will eaſily perceive, that a Part of this Piece was publiſhed during the late Rebellion, when there was an Embarkation of Forces at *Dunkirk*, deſigned for the Invaſion of this Kingdom. The Author imputes the favourable Reception it met with at that Time, to the Improvements it received from the Honourable Mr Juſtice *Foſter*, who was pleaſed to reviſe it before its Publication. After mentioning a Gentleman

* See the Reaſons in Pages 49, 50, 53, and 69, of Part I. for annexing this Piece to the Subject of naturalizing Foreign Proteſtants.

of ſo diſtinguiſhed a Character, he thinks it needleſs to ſay any Thing more, than to expreſs in this publick Manner, his Gratitude to him for this, as well as many other ſignal Obligations.

THE Additions now made, are ſubmitted with great Deference to the Judgment of the Publick. And if what is advanced on this Subject may contribute to remove any ill-founded Prejudice againſt our preſent happy Conſtitution, the Author will think his Pains amply recompenſed: But if the Abettors of a contrary Opinion ſhould be irritated againſt him for his Sentiments (delivered in an inoffenſive Manner) and repeat their ill Uſage to him, he hopes they will conſider, that there can be no greater Proof of a *bad Cauſe*, than the Neceſſity of ſupporting it by *baſe* and *diſingenuous* Methods.

IT is not to be doubted, but the Friends and Partizans of the *Chevalier* would make the World believe, that it would be greatly for the Welfare of this Nation if he ſhould prevail; that his Reign, and the Reſtoration of his Family, would take away the Cauſe of Party Factions and Diviſions; that the Liberties and Properties of the Subject would be ſecured upon as *good*, or rather *better* Foundation, than they are at preſent; that Trade would encreaſe and flouriſh; the People be eaſed of a great Part of their Taxes; and laſtly, that he himſelf is a good, ſincere, and honeſt Man, and will give clear Proofs of it during the Courſe of his future Government.

LET

Let us grant (for Argument Sake) the Sincerity of his Heart, and the Uprightneſs of his Intentions, to be as great as the moſt ſanguine of his Adherents can conceive them to be. And let us conſider what *Political* Conſequences, with reſpect to Us, thoſe very Principles would naturally produce, were he to ſucceed in his Attempts on theſe Kingdoms.

I. Then, his Claim to theſe Kingdoms muſt be grounded on the Doctrine of an *indefeaſible hereditary Right*.—He can have no other Pretence but this; for the preſent Reigning Family have the *Parliamentary Right* on their Side, being called to the Crown by an open and unconſtrained Election. His Plea therefore muſt be, and is in fact, that he is come to aſſert his *Property*, which has been ſo long detained from him.

Now if the Crown is a Matter of *Property*, and not an Office in *Truſt*; if it is *unalieniable*, and not to be *transferred* by the People, *in any Caſe*, for the Security of their *Liberties*, and the *General Good*, this unalieniable and hereditary Property is likewiſe, for the very ſame Reaſon, not to be *diminiſhed* or *infringed*. Conſequently, all Statutes made to *reſtrain* or *abridge* the *Prerogative*, are void and null of courſe, being nothing better than ſo many popular *Encroachments* and *Uſurpations*. For the *Subject* is born the *Property* of his *Prince*, and therefore, *can have no Right* to inſiſt upon Terms and Conditions from him. In ſhort, his only Remedy is to ſubmit with Patience to the *Will* and *Command* of *his Proprietor*.

THUS *unlimited* passive Obedience, and *Non-Resistance*, are *inseparably* connected with the Claim of an *indefeasible* hereditary Right. And if a Prince sets up the one himself, he may very reasonably require the other to be practised by his Subjects.

II. IF ever the *Chevalier* succeeds to the Crown, he can do no less, consistently with the Principles of *Justice* and *Gratitude*, than *restore* to his *Benefactor*, the King of *Spain*, the important Fortresses and Ports of *Gibraltar* and *Mahone*. — This would be no *extravagant* or *unreasonable* Demand in the latter to make, but would be a Thing highly *injurious* and *ungrateful* in the former to refuse; because these Places were conquered *by* those whom the *Pretender* must stile *Usurpers*, and *from* those who have ever been assisting him in his greatest Exigencies: And upon his coming to the Throne, he can lay no Claim to these Places, either by *Treaty*, *Cession*, or *Conquest*; — consequently, can have no Appearance of Right, *of any Sort*, to detain them. Thus all the Trade to the *Mediterranean* would in a great Measure depend on the mere Will and Pleasure of the Court of *Spain*; and the *Brittish* Nation would not have it in her Power to rule in those Seas as she doth at present, but must submit to lose all that Influence, and the Benefit of her Maritime Strength, for want of Ports and Harbours for the *wintering* and *refitting* of the Ships, and Security of the Fleet.

III. THE same Reasoning holds with respect to the delivering up of *Cape Breton* to the *French*: Both Justice and Gratitude demand it of him.

But

But as the Caſe ſtands at preſent, if we prove ſucceſsful in the War, we ſhall certainly keep *it; and by that Means open to ourſelves a Trade more beneficial than all the Mines of *Peru:* But ſhould we prove ever ſo unfortunate, we ſhall ſtill be able to obtain ſomething valuable in Lieu of it, and ſo procure a Peace upon more advantageous Terms than could otherwiſe be obtained. Add to this, that it is much to be queſtioned, whether *France*, in the Plenitude of her Power, would practiſe ſuch *unuſual* Moderation, as to be content with the re-delivering up of *Cape Breton*, as an Equivalent for all the Expences ſhe hath been at in placing the Pretender on the Throne; when it will be entirely at her Option to make her own Terms, and to inſiſt upon the moſt valuable Poſſeſſions we have, either in *America* or †elſewhere, in order to prevent it from ever being in the Power of the *Britiſh* Nation to oppoſe her again.

IV. The Duty on *French* Wines, *&c.* muſt be conſiderably lowered, ſo as to be upon a Par with the Duties on the like Commodities of other Nations.

* The ſurrendering up of this Fortreſs is now amply compenſated by the ſettling of *Nova Scotia*; and it is alſo to be obſerved, that the Ceſſion of it was one of the principal Inducements with the King of *France* to conclude ſo diſadvantageous a Peace, by reſtoring all *Flanders*; from whence this Nation can be invaded with every *Eaſterly* Wind, as it would both bring the Invaders over, and *lock* up our own Fleet in Port.

† It is well known, that the *French* have looked upon *Ireland* for a long Time paſt with wiſtful Eyes, as this fertile Country would ſupply them with Wool for their Manufactures at Home, and Proviſions for their Colonies Abroad; and as its Ports would be a Means of augmenting and protecting their Trade, and ſtrike a Terror in the whole *Engliſh* Nation, when made the *Rendezvous* of a *French* Fleet.

tions. For it would be very ſtrange, and an ill Requital of Favour and Protection, if the *Chevalier*, when King, ſhould put the Subjects of *that* Crown, who reſtored him to *his*, upon a *worſe* Footing than the reſt of *Europe* within his Dominions. The Produce of *France*, when imported here, pays heavier Duties at preſent than that of other Nations; and her Wines are charged about two thirds more than thoſe of *Portugal*; which was wiſely done in Conſequence of an expreſs Treaty with the King of *Portugal*, for the Grant of a favourable Admiſſion of our Woollen Manufactures, and other Commodities, into his Dominions. Can we imagine then that *France* would not embrace ſuch an Opportunity as here ſuppoſed, to get theſe exceſſive and diſcouraging Duties repealed? And doth not the Thing itſelf look very plauſible, carrying a Face of Equity that it ſhould be ſo? In ſhort, the *Chevalier* and his Friends, cannot, in point of Decency, Honour, or Gratitude, refuſe to concur in ſuch a Repeal; or if they would, they dare not.

WHAT then would be the Conſequence with reſpect to us?—FRENCH Goods, of various Sorts, would be imported, as we are ſo fond of their Faſhions, and their People work ſo much cheaper than ours, to the utter Ruin of our own Manufactures: *French* Wines would be almoſt univerſally drank inſtead of *Port*, whereby that moſt valuable Part of *all* our Commerce, the Trade to *Portugal*, would be entirely loſt, and very probably paſs from our Hands into thoſe of the *French*. Thus there would enſue a general Stagnation of Trade and Manufactures; and our preſent ready Specie would daily diminiſh, by being carried away

way into *France*, without any Proſpect of its Return, or of receiving freſh Supplies from other Countries.

V. SEEING ſuch a Reign as here ſuppoſed muſt unavoidably be productive of *inſupportable* Grievances, and Matters of *juſt Complaint*, the Number of *Malecontents* and *diſſatisfied* Perſons would be much greater, and their Clamours *more violent* than ever. And as the preſent Reigning Family would be looked upon, at that ſuppoſed Juncture, as the Pretenders and Rivals to the Throne, the *Diſcontented and Diſaffected* would be ſo much the more *formidable*. Therefore a *very numerous* Army would become *neceſſary* to keep in Awe a *free People*, unaccuſtomed to bear the Yoke of *Oppreſſion*;—or a *new* Revolution would ſoon enſue. Hence Taxes, inſtead of being *diminiſhed*, would inevitably be *multiplied*, as the Government would have the ſame Load of National Debt it hath at preſent, or muſt have Recourſe to a *Spunge* to wipe it off: For in ſuch Circumſtances there could be no other Method of paying it. And if this ſhould be thought the beſt Expedient,* then the whole *Publick Credit* muſt ſink of courſe; *Widows*, and *Orphans*,

* By the Tenor of the *Chevalier*'s Manifeſto, publiſhed during the Rebellion, it ſhould ſeem, that he preferred the Expedient of *Annihilating* the Publick Debts to that of *Paying* them. For he is pleaſed to inveigh againſt them as contracted to *keep out* his Family, which is by no Means true of the greater Part of them. For they were really contracted to withſtand the exorbitant Power of *France*; which is a Duty ſo incumbent on *every Britiſh* King, that the *Stuart* Family themſelves *ought* to have done the very ſame Thing, if they had continued on the Throne. He then goes on, ſaying, "He would leave the "Matter to a free Parliament, whether theſe Debts ſhould be "paid or not:" That is, in plain *Engliſh*, The firſt Parliament he called after his Victories, compoſed only of his own Friends and Followers, and the Soldiers of Fortune (for at ſuch a Juncture

Orphans, and thouſands of Perſons of good Faſhion, be reduced to the moſt indigent and abject State; and many Publick *Charitable Foundations* of Schools, Hoſpitals, Infirmaries, &c. be obliged to be ſhut up. But if the ſame Debts are ſuppoſed to remain, then the prodigious Expences of the Service, joined to the Intereſt payable to the *Publick Creditors*, would put the Government under a Neceſſity of laying on many *new* and *heavy* Taxes, when the Trade or Money circulating in the Nation would bear no Proportion to anſwer them.

VI. AFTER theſe Things impartially conſidered, we may clearly obſerve, that the continual Aſſiſtance of *France* would become ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that it would be impoſſible to ſupport ſuch a *tottering* Crown without it. And therefore it would be the Intereſt of the *Chevalier*, to ſee *Flanders* always in the Hands of *France*, as he could receive Aſſiſtance, with great Eaſe, from his *potent* Ally, by Means of the *Flemiſh* Ports, to quell any Attempts of the Friends of Liberty to recover their Freedom: And it would be the Intereſt of *France* to foment all our domeſtick Diviſions, at leaſt not to take away the Cauſe of them, in order to keep the Crown of *Great Britain* ſtill dependant.—So that in fact, the *Chevalier* would be little better than a Vice-Roy, or Lord Lieutenant, under the Grand Monarch; and the *Britiſh* Subjects would actually be in a *much worſe* State, than if they were under an *immediate French* Government. VII. THERE

ture none others could dare to appear) would then determine, whether they ſhould pay the publick Creditors, or ſhare the Spoils among themſelves.—And it is eaſy to reſolve which they would chuſe to do.

VII. THERE can be nothing which the Favourers of this Gentleman have to reply to theſe Obſervations, but this, that when he is once ſettled upon the Throne, he will then conſult the Intereſts of the *Britiſh* Nation only, and diſappoint the Expectations of the Courts of *France* or *Spain*.—I have ſhewn, that he cannot do this, conſiſtently with Gratitude, Honour, or Juſtice. But if, notwithſtanding, it is ſtill inſiſted, that he will,—I aſk, What Security can we have, that ſuch a Prince will be more *conſcientious* in performing his Engagements to *Us*, over whom he will conſider that he hath an *indefeaſible Property*, than to *others*, over whom he hath no ſuch Claims, and to whom he hath been ſo much obliged, and ſo deeply engaged?

BESIDES, it will not be in his Power to act in this Reſpect as he pleaſes. — *France*, enlarged by Conqueſt, having her Frontiers ſecured by the *Rhine*, her Commerce encreaſed and raiſed upon the Deſtruction of ours, and in Poſſeſſion of all the Ports of *Flanders*, which are within a *few Hours* ſail of our own Coaſts, could eaſily compel the diſtracted and divided People of *Great Britain*, ſunk in Trade, deſtitute of Credit, and without Finances or Allies, to ſubmit to her own Terms. And it is evidently no more the Deſign of that Crown to raiſe the Power of the *Pretender* to a State of *Independence*, capable of turning his Arms againſt her, than it is to favour the Intereſts of the preſent Royal Family. For whenever ſhe aſſiſts, ſhe doth it with no other View, than of making *Tools* of the Party aſſiſted, by eſpouſing their Intereſts in *ſuch a Manner* as ſhall make them *ſub-*

ſervient to her own; which, in the Nature of Things, muſt be contrary to the Intereſt of *Great Britain.*

WHAT then can be expected from the Succeſs of the Pretender?—Nothing certainly in point of *National* Advantage: So that there can be urged no Motives of *that Sort* to induce any one to embark in the Undertaking, or even to countenance a Spirit of *Diſaffection.*

VIII. LET us therefore examine in the next Place, how the Matter ſtands, and on which Side the Argument would conclude in point of DUTY.

1. IT is an undoubted Maxim, founded in the Reaſon of Things, that Protection and Allegiance are *reciprocal.* As therefore we have received the one, we ought the more chearfully to pay the other, and be vigorous in the Support of a Government, which hath ſo long protected us in the Enjoyment of all our Rights, Civil and Religious;—and that in a greater Degree than ever was known before.

2. BOTH Prince and People have entered into *mutual Stipulations*, and the moſt *ſolemn* Engagements to aſſiſt and defend each other; which therefore, neither Party have a Right to break through at Pleaſure: Now let any one look over the *Declaration of Rights and Liberties* made by the Lords and Commons in the very Year of the Revolution, *viz.* 1688, and ſay, whether he thinks in his Conſcience, that the People are debarred of the full Poſſeſſion

ſeſſion of any one of them. And if they are not, how can any Man of Honour or common Honeſty be free from his Engagements?—More eſpecially a CHRISTIAN, after having, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, called GOD to *witneſs* to the *Sincerity* of his Profeſſions of Loyalty and Obedience?

3. SHOULD any one be ſo *weak*, or *ignorant* of our free Conſtitution, as to *doubt* of the Title of the preſent Royal Family (which in every View hath a much better *Original*, and *Plea* of *Right*, than any other Family ſince the Time of the *Saxons*, who by the *baſeſt* Treachery *uſurped* the Government from their Maſters:) Nay even ſuppoſing there was a *real Defect*,*—Why, St *Paul* hath decided in ſuch a Caſe, that an *eſtabliſhed* Conſtitution, which anſwers the general Ends of Government, is not to be reſiſted, becauſe the Title happens to be *controverted:* A defective Title being the very Pretence of the *Jews*, and *Judaizing Chriſtians*, for their Reluctance to obey the *Roman* Government, *viz.* Becauſe, in their Opinion, it was not *ordained* of GOD. And yet the Apoſtle would by no Means admit of this Plea, but lays it down as a general Rule, that every *ſettled* Government [*The Powers* THAT BE] exerciſing that Office for the Good of the People, is *ſo far* ordained of GOD, as to have a *ſufficient*, and therefore in that Senſe a *Divine Right*, to the Loyalty of the Subject; which Service he cannot refuſe without committing a very *heinous* Sin.

* See my IId Diſſertation againſt Mr *Chubb*, viz. on *Rom.* xiii. Printed for *T. Trye, Holborn.*

4. THIS Declaration of the Apoſtle, concerning Obedience to the Powers in *Poſſeſſion*, is incorporated into, and made an *eſſential* Part of our Conſtitution both in CHURCH and STATE.

As to the CHURCH, the ſame Doctrine is contained in the *Homilies*, where King *John*, though a moſt notorious Uſurper, is ſtiled, Our *natural* Lord and Sovereign; and it is obſervable, that before the Civil Wars, there is not one Inſtance that the contrary Poſition was ever held. Nay farther, the very Convocation expreſly called together by the *firſt* King of the *Stuart* Line reigning in *England*, to deliberate on ſuch Points, gave their Judgments as follows; "If any Man ſhall "affirm,—That when any *new* Forms of Go"vernment, *begun by* REBELLION, are after tho"roughly ſettled, the Authority in them is not "of GOD; or that any who live within the Ter"ritories of ſuch *new* Governments, are not "bound to be ſubject to GOD's Authority, which "is there executed,—he doth *greatly err.*"*

AND

* Biſhop *Overall*'s Convocation Book, CANON XXIII. Page 59. *N. B.* This Quotation is brought with no other View, but to ſet forth the Senſe of the Clergy of the Church of *England* at that Juncture, concerning *controverted* or *defective* Titles in the reigning Powers,—defective I mean, with regard to Claims *before* Poſſeſſion, or the Pretenſions of a *Rival*; for *after* Poſſeſſion, the *Subject* is precluded, according to the Senſe of this Canon, from making any Objections againſt the Lawfulneſs of obeying ſuch a Government, or giving Countenance to the Pretenſions of a Rival, that would diſturb it when once quietly eſtabliſhed.

AND with reſpect to the STATE,* It hath been the conſtant and invariable Maxim of the *Common Law* of *England* to aſcribe the ſame Powers and Prerogatives, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, and Military, to a King *de Facto*, as to a King *de Jure*. And to prevent any Poſſibility of Doubt on this Head, the Legiſlature itſelf paſſed an Act, the 11th of *Henry* VII. expreſly limiting the Obedience of the Subject to the *King for the Time being*. After this, it might appear ſuperfluous to recite the Authority of the Courts of Judicature, in which the Statutes of both Sorts of Kings are always allowed to carry equal Force and Obligation;—or the Opinions of the moſt eminent Lawyers, who are conſequently the beſt Judges of the *Engliſh* LEGAL Conſtitution, and yet never made any Scruple to aſſert, that the Loyalty of the Subject was limited to the *King in Poſſeſſion*.

IX. BUT even allowing that all theſe Arguments are *inconcluſive*, and that nothing can make Amends for the Want of a *regular* Succeſſion of the next of Kin;—the grand Queſtion therefore is, Who hath the beſt Pretenſions to the Crown by Virtue of this Succeſſion? †The *Stuart* Family can have no Right; for their Claim muſt deſcend from King *John*, who was not only a groſs *Uſurper*, but

* THOSE who wiſh to have a clearer and more perfect View of all theſe Points, would do well to conſult that excellent Book of Dr *Higden* on the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, with the Defences annexed to it.

† SEE this proved at large in *Ballantyne*'s Hereditary Right of King *George* II. aſſerted: Sold by *M. Cooper* in *Pater-Noſter Row*.

but a *Murderer* of his King: And his Children being alſo *illegitimate*, the whole hereditary Right muſt have paſſed from him to his Siſter *Maud*, the Daughter and only ſurviving Iſſue of *Henry* II. (in whom, *N. B.* the *Norman* and *Saxon* Lines were *united.*) And from this Princeſs, married to the Duke of *Bavaria*, His preſent Majeſty, King *George* II. is LINEALLY deſcended. So that tho' the Plea of an *indefeaſible* hereditary Right is certainly a very weak one, and ſuch as every Friend to our preſent happy Conſtitution would heartily diſclaim, yet it may have its Uſe merely as an *Argumentum ad Hominem*, and ſerve to confute the Defenders of a wild, extravagant Opinion, upon their own Principles.

X. LASTLY, The Faults of the Adminiſtration, the Number of our Taxes, and the vaſt Load of the National Debt, are made ſtanding Subjects of Complaint.

AS to *Faults* and *Miſcarriages*, there is no Doubt to be made, but every *human* Inſtitution is ſubject to them; and with reſpect to our own, its beſt Friends will the more readily acknowledge it, as they are the moſt zealous in their Endeavours to rectify what may ſeem amiſs, and to render our Conſtitution ſtill more complete and perfect. For it is one Thing to aim at the Improvement and Perfection of the Government under which we live, and another to plot its Ruin, and ſide with its Enemies. Moreover, it is an indiſputable Fact, that many Things have been made Matters of great Complaint, which really deſerved

deſerved Commendation; and that ſome of the moſt violent Clamours againſt Male Adminiſtration have had no other Grounds, than either a Spirit of *Diſaffection*, or the Views of Ambition.

As to the National Debts, the real Fact ſtands thus:

The *firſt* Article upon the Liſt was a Debt contracted in the Time of King *Charles* II. when he ſhut up the Exchequer, and rewarded that Gentleman (Mr *Clifford*) with a Peerage, and raiſed him to the Office of Lord High Treaſurer, who projected this infamous Scheme of robbing the Publick Creditors.

The *ſecond* Cauſe of neceſſary Expence was the *Revolution*; concerning which it may be ſufficient to ſay, that either the Nation muſt have taken thoſe Meaſures, or have ſubmitted to the Loſs of all its Liberties, Civil and Religious, and been contented to wear the Chains of *arbitrary* Power, riveted by Popiſh *Bigottry* and *Perſecution*.

The *third* was the *Reduction of Ireland*, then in the Hands of an Army of *French* and *Iriſh* Papiſts, with King *James* at the Head of them, exerciſing all Manner of Cruelties on the poor Proteſtants of that Country, and ready to invade *England* at the firſt Opportunity.

The *fourth*, and greateſt of all, was occaſioned by the long Wars with *France*; When the real Queſtion was, Whether the Nation would prefer being

being a *free People*, or ſubmit to become a *Province* to the *French* Monarchy?

THE *fifth* was owing to the Intrigues and Cabals of the *diſaffected* Party at Home, who endeavoured to ſubvert the Government by deſtroying its Credit;—in which wicked Arts they ſo far ſucceeded, as to cauſe the Premiums, Diſcounts, and Intereſt of Money lent to the Publick, to be raiſed to a moſt exorbitant Height, and then made theſe Evils the *Foundation* of *new* Clamours; thus going on in a Circle of *Complaining*, and creating *more Cauſes* of Complaint.

THE *ſixth* was the unwearied Attempts of the ſame Party by continual Plots and Intrigues, by repeated Inſurrections and Rebellions, which have occaſioned the neceſſary Expence of conſtant Precautions.—And therefore, when all theſe Things are taken into the Account, let it be ſubmitted to the Judgment of the impartial World, who hath moſt Reaſon to complain of the Load of our National Debts, and to whoſe Conduct and Behaviour it is chiefly to be imputed.

MOREOVER, as to the Number of TAXES, that Part of them which is neceſſary for the Payment of Intereſt in the Funds, ought in Truth and Juſtice to be *ſo far* imputed to the *diſaffected* Party, as they have been the Occaſion of the preſent Largeneſs of our publick Debts. *And as to the remaining

* SEE this, and the following Article, clearly demonſtrated in a Pamphlet called *The By-ſtander*, which contains many other very ſolid and judicious Reflections. *London*, printed for *J. Robinſon*, at the *Golden Lion* in *Ludgate Street*.

remaining Taxes, one Portion of them is now ſo abſolutely *appropriated* to the *Publick* Service, and ſo entirely under the Command of the *Parliament*, that an Examination is made, Accounts and Vouchers produced every Seſſions; an Happineſs this, which never could be obtained till the Revolution. And in regard to the other Part, called the *Civil Liſt*, this is in fact leſs by one half than what it was in the Times of King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. that is, when the Sums expended on the *Publick* Service were taken out of the Sums granted by Parliament, or otherwiſe received, the Balance* remaining in the Hands of the Crown at that Juncture was really *double* the Income of the preſent *Civil Liſt*, conſidering the Difference between the Value of Money then and now.

It may be farther obſerved, what I do not recollect hath ever yet been particularly taken Notice of, that the Syſtem of our Finances and Commerce hath, in ſome Meaſure, been put upon a *new* Footing ſince the Revolution, to the Nation's great Advantage;—though there is ſtill Room for very great Improvements. For with regard to our Finances, it is not ſo much the Conſideration of the *Sum raiſed*, as of the *Commodity* or *Perſons* that are to pay it, which ſhould denominate a Tax *uſeful* or *oppreſſive*:—Becauſe a Tax produc-

* "The Amount of the *Civil Liſt* for three Years and an "half [that is, from the firſt half Year after the Reſtoration, "ending at Chriſtmaſs 1660, till Chriſtmaſs 1663.] was "6,075,855 *l.* which is after the Rate of 1,735,900 *l.* for one "Year. And this may be fairly ſtated, as upon a Medium, "the *Annual Civil Liſt Revenue* after the Reſtoration." *Byſtander*, Pages 84, and 85.

ing vaſt Sums, may be laid on in ſuch a Manner as to *promote* the Publick Welfare, by checking thoſe VICIOUS *artificial Wants*, which are prejudicial to a general, laſting, and extenſive Commerce: And on the other Hand, another may be ſuppoſed of ſo fatal a Tendency, though its own Amount may be but a Trifle, as to prevent the Circulation of MILLIONS, by ſtopping the Machine of Commerce in its *firſt* Motions. Now this was too much the Caſe before the Revolution; for Taxes were laid upon the Exportation of our own Manufactures, and even upon Cloth itſelf. Nay the very Ingredients uſed in Dying of Cloth, paid a Duty upon Importation ſo late as the 8th of King *George* II. when in Purſuance of His Majeſty's moſt Gracious Speech from the Throne, a Repeal was made of thoſe abſurd and pernicious Laws.

AND as to the more *immediate* Concerns of Commerce, it is a Principle not to be doubted, tho' never taken Notice of till the happy Revolution, that many Branches of Commerce, greatly advantageous to the Kingdom, are of ſuch a Nature as not to afford a ſufficient Profit to Individuals, unleſs *hired* at the Publick Expence, to engage in them. Hence therefore all our Bounties, Premiums, and Drawbacks, which are certainly right in themſelves, when judiciouſly applied, though they are ſubject, as every good Thing is, to many Frauds and Abuſes. But if we want any Example or Illuſtration of their *general* Utility, we need have Recourſe to no other, than to the Caſe of the Bounty upon the Exportation of Corn.

For

For ſince the paſſing of that uſeful Law in the Reign of our glorious Deliverer, King *William*, the whole Face of this Country hath been changed; ſo that from being ſubject to a *Famine* every five or ſix Years, we are now become the Granary of *Europe*, to the unſpeakable Advantage both of the *Landed* and *Commercial* Intereſt; having a Sufficiency of Corn for ourſelves, and ſome to export in the worſt of Seaſons. For the *Downs* and *High Lands* will generally furniſh a Supply, when the *Low Lands* fail,—and *vice verſâ*:—Not to mention that when both ſucceed, the Farmer is ſtill encouraged to plow again for a next Year's Crop, as he is ſure of a Price for the Produce of his Labour, either at Home or Abroad.

XI. These Conſiderations are humbly ſubmitted to the *free* and *unbiaſſed* Judgment of every *honeſt* Man, and *Lover* of his Country, of whatſoever *Denomination*.—And if it ſhould appear, that there can be no *juſt* Motive for *Diſaffection* to the preſent Royal Family on account of either *Principle* or *Intereſt*, may we not hope, that all Oppoſition, derived from that Source, to the Naturalization of our perſecuted Fellow Proteſtants, will entirely ceaſe? And would it be too much to expect, that this Affair ſhould be determined by every Man, in his own Conſcience, according to the intrinſick Reaſon of the Thing, and not according to the Dictates of Party, or former Prejudices and Prepoſſeſſions?—It is ſurely a ſtrange Proceeding, that an innocent, diſtreſſed Proteſtant, ſhould be denied a Shelter in this Country, merely becauſe he cannot to pay the high

high Fees for Naturalization, which the poor Remains of his plundered Fortune cannot reach; or is *diſliked* for his Affection to the preſent Royal Family;—but ſtranger ſtill, after it has been proved, that his Labour, Skill, and Induſtry, would be a new Acquiſition of Strength and Riches to our own Kingdom and People; or that his Affection to His Majeſty, and his Family, ſhould be the very Inducement with every loyal Subject, and Lover of his Country, to receive him with open Arms.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

IN the Preface, Page iii, Line 3 from the Bottom, for *the* read *that*. Page v, Line 3 from the Bottom, for *Articles* read *Article*. — In the Queries, Page 6, Line 6, for *rational* read *national*. Page 31, Line 15, for *cheaper* read *leſs*.

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A

LETTER

TO A

FRIEND

CONCERNING

NATURALIZATIONS:

SHEWING,

I. What a Naturalization is NOT;

II. What it IS;

III. What are the Motives for the preſent Clamours againſt the Bill paſſed laſt Seſſions for enabling the Parliament to Naturalize ſuch *Jews*, as they ſhall approve of.

IV. Setting forth the Nature of this Affair conſidered in a Religious Light.

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By JOSIAH TUCKER, *M. A.*
Rector of St STEPHEN's in BRISTOL,
AND
Chaplain to the Right Rev. the Lord Biſhop of BRISTOL.

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A

LETTER

TO A

FRIEND,

Who desired to know, what was the true Meaning of the Term NATURALIZATION, *and to what* real Motives *the present Clamours against the Naturalizing the* Jews *were to be ascribed.*

SIR,

IN Answer to your Question, I here send you the following Account, *viz. First*, By shewing, what a Naturalization Bill is *not*; and, *Secondly*, What it *is:* And then I shall proceed to the other Parts of your Enquiry.

Now a Naturalization Bill doth *not* give a Right so much as to a Parish Settlement: But a Foreigner, without Naturalization, may acquire this Right, either by Service, Apprenticeship, or Renting a Tenement of a *certain* Value, in the same Manner as such Rights are obtained by *English*-born Subjects: And a Female Foreigner may gain a Parish Settlement by Marriage. Nay, every Foreigner, if taken *sick*, or

rendered *incapable* of Labour, muſt be relieved by a Poor-Rate in the Place, where he ſhall then happen to reſide, if he hath not acquired a *legal* Settlement in ſome other Part of the Kingdom. So that in fact, the Poor of *all Nations*, and *all Religions*, are entitled to a Pariſh Subſiſtence in ENGLAND (when they want it, and cannot otherwiſe be relieved) as much as any Natural-born Subject: For the Humanity of our Laws is ſuch, that they will not ſuffer any Perſon, let his Country or Religion be what they will, to periſh through Want.

PERHAPS you may imagine, That the Law empowers proper Officers to ſend ſuch indigent Foreigners to their native Countries:—But there neither is, nor ever was, ſuch *legal Power* ſubſiſting, by Virtue either of the Statute, or Common Law of the Realm, And * if *Ten Thouſand* Foreign Beggars were immediately to land, the Magiſtrates are not empowered *by Law* to ſend them out; nor can they employ a Shilling of the public Money for ſuch Purpoſes. Pleaſe to obſerve, that I ſay,—*Foreign Beggars*—to diſtinguiſh them from ſuch, as belong to any Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions; becauſe indeed ſuch poor People may be ſent to their reſpective Habitations; but *Foreigners cannot*. This is the real Fact; and this is LAW.

AGAIN, a Naturalization Bill doth *not* convey the Grant of the Freedom of any City, Borough, or Corporate Society in the Kingdom:—But *moſt* of theſe Privileges *may be*, and *ſometimes are*, conveyed to Foreigners without being naturalized at all.

Laſtly, A Naturalization Bill *never can* qualify a Perſon to be employed in any Office, or Truſt, Civil or Military; a naturalized Foreigner *never can* receive any Grants from the Crown directly, or indirectly;

* *Note*, The Magiſtrates can treat all *Beggars* as *Vagrants*, whether *Engliſh* or Foreigners; but they can exert no greater Power over the *Foreigners* than over the *Natives*.

rectly; he *never can* be a Member of the Privy Council, or of either House of Parliament:—Because there is a *restraining* Clause inserted in every Naturalization Bill against such Privileges; and by 1st of GEORGE I. Stat. II. Cap. 4. no Bill can be so much as *proposed* to either House of Parliament without such restraining Clause being first inserted.

THE Words of the Act are as follow; "Be it "farther enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That "no Person shall hereafter be naturalized, unless in "the Bill exhibited for that Purpose there be a "Clause or particular Words inserted, to declare, "that such Person shall not thereby be enabled to be "of the Privy Council, or a Member of either "House of Parliament, or to take any Office or "Place of Trust, either Civil or Military, or to "have any Grant of Lands, Tenements or Heredi-"taments from the Crown, to himself, or any other "Person in Trust for him; ☞ And that no Bill "of Naturalization shall hereafter be received in ei-"ther House of Parliament, unless such Clause or "Words be first inserted, or contained therein."

THIS Act, so strong and expressive, is little more than a Continuation of a former Law past the 12th and 13th of WILLIAM III. Cap. 2. Whereas before that Time all naturalized Persons might have enjoyed every Office of Trust, Power, or Preeminence equally with the Natives. Nay, by the 15th of CHARLES II. Cap. 15. all Foreigners, without Exception to their Religion, were naturalized, if they would exercise any Trade, relating to Flax, Hemp, or Tapistry, for the Space of three years (which they were authorized to do in all Places, *Corporate* or not *Corporate*, privileged or not privileged;) and after the Expiration of that Term, they were made capable of being Mayors of Cities, Justices of the Peace, Members of Parliament, *&c. &c.* Strange Fate of Things! That such an Act of *unlimited* Naturaliza-

turalization, unlimited I mean as to the *Power* given, ſhould paſs uncenſured,—an Act, which gave even Foreign *Jews* a Power to bear Offices Civil, and Military, to purchaſe Lands, to be Patrons of Livings, *&c. &c.* while the Nation hath been worked up into a general Ferment, as if *Hannibal* was at the Gates, at the very Propoſal of other Naturalizations, though all poſſible Inconveniencies, and the moſt diſtant Dangers, were guarded againſt.

You will now be the more deſirous of knowing, what a Naturalization Bill *is*, againſt which ſo terrible an Outcry hath been raiſed.

As to the Bill itſelf, it only empowers *rich* Foreigners to *purchaſe Lands*, and to carry on a free and *extenſive* Commerce, by importing all Sorts of Merchandiſe and *Raw Materials*, allowed by Law to be imported, for the Employment of our own People, and then Exporting the Surplus of the Produce, Labour, and Manufactures of our own Country, upon *cheaper* and *better* Terms than is done at preſent*.

This

* *Note*, When an *Alien*, or Foreigner, though reſiding in *England*, and navigating his Ships according to Law, engages in Merchandiſe, he is burdened and plagued, particularly in the Port of *London*, with an innumerable Set of Fees, Duties, Perquiſites, *Pickings* and *Squeezings*, in order to diſtreſs and diſcourage him. Theſe are called by a general Term, *Alien Duty*. And it will not avail him to alledge, that he carries on a Trade greatly to the Advantage of the Kingdom in general, and of the Landed Intereſt in particular,—That he hath introduced new Species of Manufactures,—exported greater Quantities of *Engliſh* Labour to foreign Countries, than were ever known to be done by a Native,—That he imports *Raw Materials* in vaſt Abundance for the further Employment of the People; and that Thouſands of Families of *Natural-born* Subjects do get their Bread, pay their Rents and Taxes, and become uſeful Members of Society, by theſe Means:—All this, I ſay, will avail him nothing; for Mr *Franco* the *Jew* had this to plead, and a *great deal more*:—But he is a FOREIGNER; therefore he ſhall pay *additional* Cuſtoms, Subſidies, Fees, Scavage, Package, Balliage, Portage, *&c. &c.* and be ſubject to *be teized* in a Thouſand Inſtances.—Or, if the Foreigner is a diſhoneſt Man (as

This is all the Hurt that ſuch a Bill *can* do; for this is the Meaning of that odious Word *Naturalization*. It gives no Encouragement to poor Foreigners to come over; it propoſes no new Advantages, nor doth it grant any Privilege, even to the *Rich*, beyond what hath been already mentioned. Nay, what is ſtill more, as to the Power of Purchaſing Lands, that may be obtained by Virtue of Letters of Denization from the Crown; ſo that there is no need of a Naturalization Bill *meerly* for that Purpoſe. But Letters of Denization cannot convey a Right to *demand* the Freedom of the *Turkey*, the *Ruſſia*, and ſome other *excluſive* Companies;—nor will they exempt a Foreigner from that abſurd and unreaſonable Impoſition of paying *Alien Duty*, for the Importation of *Raw Materials to employ our own Poor*. Now this Alien Duty is ſcarce known in any other Trading Country; it is never impoſed in *Holland*, nor in *France*, except on ENGLISH PROTESTANTS, and is one *Trick*, among many, deviſed by *Monopoliſts* here in *England*, to prevent the extending the Trade of the Kingdom, and to confine it to a few Hands. It is therefore artfully called a Tax upon *Foreigners*;—whereas in Reality it is a Tax upon ourſelves of the very *worſt Sort*, *viz.* a Tax upon *Raw Materials* imported for the Employment of our Poor; a Tax upon the Exportation of our own Produce, Labour, and Manufactures, to be ſold and conſumed in foreign Parts; an Impediment to the Circulation of Induſtry and

(as the avoiding ſo much Trouble and Expence hath a natural Tendency to make him) then he gets ſome diſhoneſt Freeman to make a falſe Entry, and cover the Goods in his own Name. Now this is practiſed every Day in the moſt ſhocking Manner, and ſometimes with the Sanction of an Oath:—Let the Reader therefore judge, whether it is unbecoming the Character of a Clergyman to animadvert upon ſuch *continued* Scenes of Fraud and Perjury, and to be deſirous of ſeeing theſe Temptations removed out of the Way; eſpecially if he knows, that the particular Situation of his own Pariſhioners expoſes them greatly to ſuch Temptations.

and Labour, and a general Burden upon the *Landed Intereſt*.—Yet, whenever an Attempt hath been made to free the Nation from this deſtructive and impolitic Reſtraint,—great is the Cry of *Demetrius* and his Craftſmen: "Sirs, This is the *Artifice*, by which we "have our Wealth; by which we are freed from "diſagreeable Rivals and Competitors, and can *ſe-* "*cure* the Trade of the Kingdom to ourſelves, and "put what Price we pleaſe on our Commodities. "But as this is not proper to be publicly avowed, "therefore let us apply to the *Paſſions* and *Foibles* "of our Countrymen, and harangue upon ſuch *po-* "*pular* Topics, as may keep them ſtill in the *dark*. "For if they were to know the true State of the "Caſe, how ſoon would all our Schemes be rendered "abortive! And how quickly would the Popular "Odium fall upon ourſelves!"

THUS, for Example, the honeſt Country Gentleman, who truſts too much, in the Affairs of Commerce, to the Report of thoſe, *whoſe private Intereſt it is to deceive him*, is made to believe, That if a general Naturalization Bill was to paſs, ſwarms of poor Foreigners would come over to eat up his Eſtate by an enormous Poor Tax.—He is alarmed at this Report, as well he might; therefore it is ſounded and reſounded from all Quarters; — though the firſt Spreaders of ſuch *idle Stories* know in their own Conſciences, that every Tittle of what the ſay is FALSE. If they had told him the *naked* Truth, they are well aware, that he would have taken the contrary Part; becauſe it is the immediate Intereſt of every Country Gentleman, that all Merchandiſe ſhould be *free* and *open*; that *Raw Materials* ſhould be brought in, and our own Manufactures carried out, in the moſt advantageous Way; that the Poor ſhould be employed, be induſtrious, and able to pay their Rents; that the Price of Lands ſhould be kept high, and the Intereſt of Money low; and, in a Word

Word, that no Impediments ſhould lie in the Way of Commerce, but every Thing be calculated to promote and extend it.—This, I ſay, is the true Intereſt of all the Landed Gentlemen in the Kingdom; and therefore ſuch a State of the Caſe, as would lead them to a right Notion of the preſent Subject, is *induſtriouſly* concealed; and another put in its ſtead, in order to *ſeduce* and *miſlead* them. But this is not the only Inſtance, in which the *Landed Intereſt* are made the Dupes and Bubbles of *wily Monopoliſts*.

AGAIN, Great Pains are taken with the *Engliſh* Shop-keepers and Manufacturers to terrify them with *falſe Alarms*, That a general Naturalization would introduce Thouſands and Tens of Thouſands of Foreigners, to take away their Cuſtom, and to ſink their Profits. Now if Thouſands, or even Millions were to come over, it is impoſſible, they could be all of the ſame Trade; and therefore they would become Cuſtomers to the Natives in ſome Reſpects, though their Rivals in others: Juſt as we ſee the Caſe happening every Day in flouriſhing Towns or Cities, which, as they increaſe in Numbers, occaſion both *new Cuſtomers* and *new Rivals*, to the former Inhabitants, and find Employment for all.

BUT waving all this, I do affirm, that Foreigners of every Denomination, *except Merchants*, may as well ſettle in *England* without a Naturalization Bill, as with one. For ſuch a Law gives no Privileges to foreign Shop-keepers and Manufacturers more than they may enjoy without it; becauſe they may at preſent ſet up in any *open* Place, ſuch as *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, or any of the extenſive Suburbs about *London*; alſo in *Birmingham*, *Leeds*, *Mancheſter*, and many other Places conſiderable for Trade and Manufactures; and there they may exerciſe what Mechanic Arts they pleaſe. What can a Natural-born Subject do more!

Now, Sir, do you imagine, that our Shop-keepers and Manufacturers in *London*, *Briſtol*, or other Places, would be againſt taking off Alien Duty, — againſt buying Raw Materials on the cheapeſt Terms, — againſt exporting the greater Quantity of our own Manufactures, or againſt employing Foreigners abroad as Factors and Agents, if they will be contented with *half the Commiſſion Money*, which muſt be paid the *Engliſh*, and if they will diſpoſe of our own Labour and Produce in larger Quantities, or to greater Advantage, and make better Returns?—No, in no wiſe: — And when our Tradeſmen are once made ſenſible, that a Naturalization Bill meant no more than this (and in Reality it means no more) they will be as zealous for it, as they are now prejudiced againſt it.

THE ſame Artifice is uſed with regard to poor Journeymen and Day-Labourers. For it ſeems, they likewiſe are to be frightened with *Bug-bears* and *Scare-crows* about lowering their Wages, and reducing them to a ſtarving Condition. This is the Craft, by which theſe poor ignorant People are caught, and made to act againſt their own Intereſt. For a Naturalization Bill could never ſink their Wages, nor touch their Privileges, real or imaginary; but, on the contrary, it muſt procure them a more conſtant Employment, by the briſker Circulation of Trade and Commerce. In ſhort, Foreigners of all Countries may come in at preſent without Naturalization, and work as Journeymen and Day-Labourers; nor can any ſend them away: So that they are *naturalized already*, as far as the *Poor* can either *want*, or *enjoy* that Privilege. *The rich*, I repeat it again, the *rich Foreigners* are the only Perſons, who are in any Degree excluded by the Laws of this Kingdom.

Laſtly, Some well-diſpoſed Chriſtians, who have more Zeal than Underſtanding, are *taught* to believe

lieve, That the Intereſts of Religion are concerned in this Diſpute. Now a good Intention always deſerves a proper Regard, even when it is engaged in a bad Cauſe. And as Religion is the Motive, it is to be hoped, that when they ſee on which Side the Motives of Religion really lie, they will conform thereto, and not perſevere in an Error, becauſe they once mantained it. Therefore to cut this Matter ſhort, and to put the Whole upon a fair Iſſue, I will ſuppoſe, That the Bible is the Religion of Proteſtants, and that we have no Right to alter Chriſtianity from what it was Seventeen Hundred Years ago. — I demand therefore the Chapter, the Text, the Verſe, which either ſay or imply, That a *rich Foreigner* ſhall not be allowed to purchaſe Lands, or to merchandiſe, without paying *Alien Duty*. Civil Policy, I grant (but *falſely* ſo called) may lay Reſtraints: But ſurely the benign Saviour of *all* Mankind hath no where enjoined, that any Perſon, becauſe he happened to be born on one Side of a River, a Mountain, or Arm of the Sea, ſhould not freely negotiate Buſineſs, or purchaſe a Piece of Land, on the other. Doth Religion interfere in this Matter? Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? And what ſays common Humanity, — that excellent Principle, confirmed and improved by our bleſſed Redeemer, of doing as we would be done unto? For in a Country, where Perſons of other Religions had the Power, in what Light would a Prohibition to merchandiſe, or buy a Peice of Land, appear to us Chriſtians? I aſk therefore, by what Law or Maxim of Revelation, what Precept of our Lord, or his Apoſtles, are Foreigners of all Nations, Religions, and Conditions admitted to ſettle in *Great Britain*, and to carry on any legal Branch of Trade or Commerce, in a free and open Manner, — but *not to import raw Materials for the Employment of Britiſh*

Manufacturers? Nay, to lend out Money upon Intereſt, to trade in the Stocks, and even to take *Land Security*, — but not to *purchaſe Lands?* This, Sir, is coming to the Point, and let us hear what they have to ſay.—Perhaps, they will ſay, we have gone *too far* already; and therefore *ought not* to proceed farther. This they may ſay, but how will they prove it?— I aſk, how will they prove it, even in relation to naturalizing the *Jews?* For the Prayer of our Lord on the Croſs for his Murderers; the Interceſſion of St *Stephen* for the ſame People; the Reaſonings of St *Peter* in the *Acts*, Chap. iii. Ver. 17. and all the Arguments of St *Paul* in the 9th, 10th, and 11th of the *Romans*, are juſt the Reverſe of what they propoſe. And how can any Perſons dare to call themſelves Chriſtians, and yet attempt to change the Nature of Chriſtianity, now it is eſtabliſhed, from what it was, when firſt propagated? Who hath required this at their Hands? And the Cauſe of *what Church* do they ſerve in ſo doing?

Besides, We will allow, for Argument's Sake, that we have gone, as they ſay, too far already in this Permiſſion granted to Foreigners of *all Religions* to ſettle in *England:* Therefore what is now to be done, but to *repent of our evil Deeds*, — and *drive* them out? And after we have expelled the Foreigners, we muſt expel thoſe of our own Countrymen, that do not conform to our Belief, becauſe the *religious* Motives are the ſame in the one Caſe as in the other; — and for that Purpoſe *Officers of Inquiſition* ſhould be erected in every Pariſh; and the Proceedings of bloody Queen *Mary* revived again. In ſhort, there is no Medium between Toleration and Perſecution: And if a Foreigner is not to be tolerated on Account of his Religion, why ſhould a Native? And why ſhould we do the Work of the Lord deceitfully, — ſince it is ſo plainly our Duty to introduce the Inquiſition of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and to follow

follow the Examples of thoſe *Catholic* Countries in the Puniſhment of *Jews* and *Heretics?*

BUT it is to be hoped, that the Proteſtants of this Kingdom will never ſo learn Chriſt, nor pervert the Goſpel to ſuch Antichriſtian Purpoſes. Indeed, even Proteſtants are ſometimes too much miſled by the Arts of deſigning Men, and by Miſrepreſentation of Facts: Yet as long as they retain the conſtituent Principles of their Religion, let us not deſpair, but that they will, ſooner or later, diſcover the inconſiſtent Part they have been acting, and abhor the Method uſed to deceive them. They will, they *muſt* ſee, that as they are commanded to *pray* for the *Converſion* of the *Jews*, they are certainly obliged to uſe ſome *benevolent Means* towards promoting that good End, and not content themſelves with offering unto God a little, cheap, unavailing Lip-Labour, without advancing one Step towards attaining the Thing they pray for. Surely, this is not to be *in earneſt* in our Prayers, nor the Way to obtain the Thing we pray for. Our excellent Church requires us, on that ſolemn Day, in which we commemorate a Saviour ſuffering on the Croſs for the Sins of the whole World, to petition, That God would be pleaſed to *fetch the* Jews *home to his Flock:* And yet the pretended Sons of this charitable Mother think they do God Service, and the Church of *England* Honour, by acting counter to this Petition, and by behaving towards that People as *uncharitably* as they *dare*, both by Words and Actions. This is the Method they take towards fetching the *Jews* home to Chriſt's Flock. But that eminent Prelate and Father of our Church, Biſhop *Kidder*, gives thoſe Zealots, if they would hear him, a very different Leſſon, worthy of a Chriſtian and Proteſtant Biſhop: "I fear, ſaith he, "ſpeaking of the *Jews*, there is not that done by "Chriſtian Rulers and People, that *ought to be done* "towards their Converſion. Chriſtians do indeed

"receive

" receive the *Jews* into their Countries; they uſe " them to many Purpoſes relating to Trade and " Traffic, to Intelligence and Correſpondencies; " But they have not *(too often* it hath been ſo) been " treated with that *Humility* and *Tenderneſs*, as *becomes* " the Chriſtian Doctrine. Inſtead of that, they have " ſometimes been ſeverely *perſecuted* and *afflicted*, " and *very often* flouted and ſcoffed at; contemned " as Men of no Wit, and not worthy of our Notice " and Regard. We have wanted that *Compaſſion*, " which *we ought to have* for their *Souls*, and not " treated them with *due Tenderneſs* and *Regard:* And " *this hath but hardened them in their Obſtinacy, and* " *prejudiced them againſt our holy Religion.*"—Kidder's *Demonſtrat. of the Meſſias*, Chap. I. § 4. Thus far this great and good Man: He did not think we had done *too much* already; nay, he did not think we had done *enough*; nor was his Patience tired out with waiting for the Converſion of this unhappy People, who, though at preſent under a dreadful Deluſion, are ſtill the *natural* Branches, and, when the divine Providence ſhall think proper, will be *graffed again*, *i. e.* naturalized, into their own Olive Tree. In the mean Time, it ill becomes us to be impatient on Account of the Delay, or to omit the proper Means for their Converſion. For why ſhould we be weary of Well-doing? And if God was to do ſo by us, and to cut ſhort his long Sufferings and gracious Forbearances, what could we ſay, But that the Meaſure we dealt to others, was meaſured to us again?

As to the *particular Methods*, which God will take to fetch home his ancient People, they are not revealed in Scripture; and therefore we have no Grounds to determine any Thing about them.* But this we know

* Alterum Signum [ultimi Judicii] eſt illuſtrior quædam Judæorum converſio, prædicta *Rom.* xi. 25, 26, 27. *Nolo vos ignorare fratres, Myſterium hoc, quia cæcitas ex parte contigit in Iſrael, donec plenitudo*

know with Certainty, that it is our Duty to make our Light to ſhine before Men,—That we ought to do every Thing in our Power towards the Promotion of the Goſpel,—and, if we can avoid it, never to *put* a Stumbling Block and Rock of Offence in any Perſon's Way. This being the Caſe, what Method ſo proper for us to take, both for our own Sakes, and for others, as to increaſe in the Fruits of the Spirit, Love, Joy, Peace, Long-ſuffering, Gentleneſs, Goodneſs, Faith, Meekneſs, Temperance? And will any Man ſay, That, to obſerve ſuch a Conduct towards the *Jews*, is to fly in the Face of Providence, and to endeavour to reverſe the Decrees of the Almighty? Surely a Perſon muſt be very far gone in the Infatuation of Party, and the fiery Madneſs of Enthuſiaſm, who advances any Arguments of this Nature.

In ſhort, Sir, I ſhould be glad to be ſhewn a *ſingle Paſſage* either out of the Old or New Teſtament, COMMANDING us to treat this People ill,—or, what comes to the ſame, FORBIDDING us to grant them the *common Privileges of Subjects:* — I ſay *common Privileges*, not of *Sovereigns*, not of the *governing* Part of the Society, but of Subjects, *meer Subjects:* For that is the Queſtion now before us, and no *other*. But one would think from the Clamours, that have been raiſed,

plenitudo Gentium intraret; & ſic omnis Iſrael ſalvus fierit: Sicut Scripturit eſt, Veniet ex Sion, qui eripiat, & avertat impietatem a Jacob, &c. Quæ adhuc complementum ſuum habitura videntur, Deo illuſtriore magiſque efficace ratione *Judæos* ad Chriſti gratiam vocante, indurationemque ipſorum cordibus auferente. Attamen quoniam beneficium hoc *generalibus* tantum verbis enuntiatur, nihilque hic *Speciale* a Deo præſtandum promittitur, nihil hic *temere definiendum* eſt, quaſi nimirum Deus *Judæos* in Terram ſuam reducturus, reſtitutoque ipſis Sceptro ac principatu, fœlicem ſub Rege Chriſto vitam in terris largiturus eſſet.—E contra, Deo hic tacente, ratio ac modus, totaque ingentis hujus beneficii Adminiſtratio Sapienti Dei Directioni eſt committenda.— ☞ Et fide ſincerâ officiiſque charitatis fraternæ beneficio huic Divino *viam quaſi præparare oportet*, ut ita fœlix illud ſæculum brevi *Judæis* illuceſcat.

LIMBORCHI Theologiæ, Lib. VI. Cap. XII. § 25.

raiſed, that the Queſtion was, Whether the Temple at *Jeruſalem* was to be rebuilt; whether the *Jews* were to be re-eſtabliſhed in their *own Land*, and their Levitical Sacrifices and Ceremonials to be revived again. Indeed ſuch an * Attempt would be flying in the Face of Providence; and moſt undoubtedly would meet with as ſignal an Overthrow, as is recorded of *Julian* the Apoſtate. But till ſuch an Attempt is made by the *Britiſh* Parliament, why ſhould they be charged with the Guilt belonging to it? Why indeed, unleſs it can be proved (and ſtrange Things have been undertaken to be proved of late) that *Great Britain* is *Judea*, — That *London* is *Jeruſalem*, — The Synagogue in *Duke*'s *Place* is Mount *Zion*, — and the Liberty granted to buy Lands and Merchandiſe, is an Order to ſet up an Altar for offering Burnt-Sacrifices and Oblations.

But it ſeems there is ſome farther Objection againſt the *Jews*: for it is apprehended, That if foreign *Jews* were permitted to ſettle in *England* (which, by the By, they were fully permitted to do, even before the Paſſing of the late Act, in all Capacities, but as *Merchants*, and *Purchaſers* of Lands) they would corrupt us. — Corrupt us, Sir! In what Inſtances? And what vicious Principles, or immoral Practices can they introduce from abroad, for which *England* is not infamous already? For indeed, there is no Country under the Sun, where Vices of all Kinds reign ſo triumphantly, or where the Chriſtian Religion is ſo outrageouſly attacked. Therefore, bad as *unconverted Jews* are, ſurely they are not worſe than *apoſtate Chriſtians*; and theſe are all of our own Growth, true *Engliſh-born* Subjects, inveſted with all our Rights and Privileges, whoſe Names and Writings would furniſh out a very ample Catalogue. — Now this is ſo notorious a Fact, that religious People

* See the excellent Obſervations on this Head, in Mr *Warburton*'s *Julian*, and the whole Argument purſued at large.

ple abroad of all Perſuaſions ſay, That they tremble at every Importation of Books from *England*, leſt more Poiſon ſhould be communicated from that unclean Fountain of Impiety and Profaneneſs. And I have often heard a moſt eminent and pious Prelate of our Church, the late Lord Biſhop of *Durham*, declare, with more Emotion than was habitual to him, That he could not in Conſcience approve of a general Naturalization, — becauſe it ſeemed to him to be the bringing of innocent Strangers into Temptations. — His Fears were quite the Reverſe of what is now pretended: For he thought it much likelier, that the *Engliſh* ſhould corrupt the Foreigners, than be corrupted by them. And ſurely we may ſay, without entering farther into the Subject, That his Opinion had much more Probability in it than the other.

BUT, Sir, not only Chriſtians, but *Deiſts* alſo are alarmed on this Occaſion. They, good People, are become, all of a ſudden, profeſſed Advocates for the Chriſtian Cauſe, and have been obſerved to be very induſtrious of late in ſpreading about Reports, that the *Jews* were coming to take away both our Place and Nation.

—— *Timeo Danaos & dona ferentes.*

WOULD you know therefore, what theſe Gentlemen are aiming at by ſuch a prepoſterous and aukward Zeal? It is this; — If they could perſuade the Bulk of the People into a firm Belief, that certain Prophecies have foretold, that the *Jews* ſhall not be naturalized, then they have but ſhort Work to make; becauſe ſuch Prophecies muſt be *falſe*; inaſmuch as the *Jews* have been, one Time or other, naturalized into every Kingdom and Country in the Univerſe, and do now enjoy the *common Rights* of *Subjects* in almoſt every State, excepting *Spain* and *Portugal*. Thus do theſe Deceivers firſt impoſe on the Credulity of the People, by pretending a Zeal

for our holy Religion, and putting on the Form of an Angel of Light;—and then uſe this very Credulity to make the People Infidels: But it is to be hoped, that God will defend the Ignorant and Simple from their deſtructive Snares, and cauſe them to ſee the Truth as it is in Jeſus Chriſt.

AND now, Sir, I have done with the *religious Part* of this Diſpute; and ſhall leave it to your own Judgment to determine, on which Side the Motives of Religion do truly preponderate. Be pleaſed therefore to re-conſider the Whole attentively; and repreſent to your own Mind, what Part St *Paul*, the great Apoſtle of the Gentiles, would have taken in a late Affair, if he had been upon Earth at the ſame Juncture: — For the Concluſions drawn from his Reaſonings and Arguments relating to the *Jews* are the beſt Rules for our own Conduct, and the moſt unexceptionable Directions. In ſhort, the Genius of the Chriſtian Religion is to diffuſe Peace on Earth, and Good-will towards Men. This is its great and diſtinguiſhing Characteriſtic; and every Deviation from it is in Fact an Approach towards that Spirit of *Judaiſm*, which prevailed in our Saviour's Time; a Spirit he ſo ſeverely rebuked, and * preached his divine Sermon on the Mount particularly to correct. Therefore let us take the more heed, that while we expreſs ſo much Warmth and Reſentment againſt the outward Profeſſion of the *Jewiſh* Religion; we do not become Proſelytes ourſelves to the inward Character of *Judaiſm*; for it is too plain a Caſe, that a Man may be a *nominal* Chriſtian, and yet a very *Jew* in his Temper and Diſpoſition. Nay, from what hath appeared of late, we may obſerve, that great Advances have been made not only towards the *Temper*, but even the *conſtituent Principles* of the *Jewiſh* Religion. For the Author of that extraordinary

* See *Blair*'s Diſcourſes, and the very Learned and Orthodox Dr *Waterland*'s recommendatory Preface.

traordinary Performance, called *an Apology for the City of* London, is pleaſed to ſay,—That the *Jews* are guilty of *high Treaſon* againſt God, and that not only in a *ſpiritual*, but in a *temporal* Senſe.—Now this is *Judaiſm* in the higheſt Degree; for the Conſtitution and Law here referred to concerning *high Treaſon* was never in Force, but during the *Moſaical Theocracy*; and cannot be now conſiſtently revived, without bringing in all the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Jewiſh* Law. Thus do Men, very often, in the heat of Controverſy, run into the very Error they exclaimed againſt, and intended to confute.

As to the *Jockyings of Electioneering*, the Cabals of Party, and the ſecret Machinations of Diſloyalty and Diſaffection, I deſignedly omit them; becauſe indeed they are too obvious to need any Illuſtration, and you would think me miſpending Time, ſhould I attempt to prove, what every Perſon clearly ſees. This being the Caſe, doth not a Jacobite, by deliberately and impiouſly taking the Oaths to the preſent Government, upon the *true Faith of a Chriſtian*, as really *blaſpheme that worthy Name, by which we are called*, as any *Jew* can poſſibly do? The one affronts a Saviour he pretends to acknowledge; the other, one he profeſſedly denies. And yet all this *Antichriſtian* Diſloyalty hath entirely eſcaped the Notice of our modern ſharp-ſighted Obſervers. Here therefore permit me to communicate to you one Anecdote, to ſhew how deeply the Spirit of Diſaffection is rooted in ſome Minds, and to what Lengths it will carry them. It is in relation to the Attempt made laſt Seſſions of Parliament for opening the Trade to the *Levant* Seas, when a certain Perſon belonging to a *great Aſſembly* conſtantly oppoſed the opening of that Trade; and being aſked his Reaſons in private, he frankly declared, That as he was an *old Tory*, he never would give a Vote for reverſing any of the Charters granted by the Houſe of *Stuart*.—This was the beſt Reaſon he could give; nor was he the only Man,

who acted upon such Principles; though others were more shy in avowing them. I do not say indeed, that every Person, who was strenuous in that Opposition, acted upon the same Principles; because I am well persuaded of the Contrary:—But this I do aver,—that if certain foreign *Jews*, now residing in *England*, had been permitted to have been free of the *Turkey* Company, and to have imported Raw Materials and other Merchandise, without paying Alien Duty, the chief Object would have been obtained, for which they desired to be naturalized. And the true Reason of the present Outcry being raised against them, is to prevent their obtaining this Freedom, and to hinder their trading upon the same Footing with other Merchants. Religion was only the Pretence;—but Monopoly the *Noli me tangere*, and the real Cause of the Clamours.—If the *Jews* had been content with getting rich as Stock-Jobbers, as Brokers, or in any other Capacity but as *Merchants*, all would have been well; and they might have gone on in making Purchases (those I mean, who are *Natives* of the Kingdom, ☞ for there is no Law *extant* in our *Statute Books*, the only *authentic Records* in this Case, against their purchasing Lands, and even * *Advowsons)* without any Notice

* *Note,* Before the passing of the late Act, the *Jews*, in purchasing *Landed Estates*, got likewise the Patronage of some Livings; and yet these modern Watchmen and zealous Defenders of our Faith were asleep all this while. Not a Word was said, not a Tongue moved. But when a Bill was brought in to *abridge* the *Jews* of *this very Power*, then truly our Zealots were all in a Flame; the Christian Religion was betrayed! The Church was in Danger! But let the Reader judge, who were the Betrayers of Religion; and by what Methods the Church of *England*, nay, and the whole Protestant Cause, is likeliest to be brought in Danger.——A certain Writer hath been pleased to correct me for calling the printed Statute Books the *only authentic Records*. I acknowledge my Error; the Rolls are the *authentic Originals*, and the printed Statutes *authentic Copies*. But what of all that? Can he prove, that there is any Difference between the Originals and the Copies in this Particular? He knows he cannot. Why then did he mention the Rolls? Poor, poor Shifts!

Notice taken of them. But when one or two *Alien Jews* wanted to get Footing within the Precincts of an *exclusive Company*, and to Trade directly to *Turkey*, without going round about by *Leghorn*, then Heaven and Earth were to be conjured, every Thing sacred to be invoked;

O Religion! O Liberty! O my Country!

And all for what? Why truly to prevent these wicked *Jews* from exporting *English* Manufactures in the most advantageous Way, and importing Raw Materials for the farther Employment of our People.

Therefore as to the present Clamours, whatever Consequences may attend them, one Thing is undeniable, that they were first propagated, and are now continued, in order to bribe the Heart in a bad Cause, and corrupt the Understanding. And if this is not *Bribery* and *Corruption* in the *worst of Senses*, I should be glad to know what is.

BUT,—to put an End to all this COMMERCIAL CANTING; and that we may hear no more of Naturalizations, either general or particular, I would humbly propose the following Regulations:

I. THAT Foreigners should be enabled to buy Lands: but disqualified not only from all Offices of Trust or Power, but also from voting for Members of Parliament, or for the Election of Magistrates in any County, or Corporation having a Right to send Members to serve in Parliament; and that no *Jew* shall be permitted to have the Patronage of Livings, Schools, *&c.* Now when these restraining Clauses are added to the former, what reasonable Pretence can be devised against granting to Foreigners the Liberty of Laying out their Money in the Purchase of Estates? What Objection can be formed against investing the *Father* with a Privilege, which the *Son*, born in *England*, must necessarily enjoy in

a much more extenſive Manner? To be plain with you, Sir, I know but of *one*; which indeed will have its Weight in *private*, though it is of ſuch a Nature, as not to be propoſed publicly: It is this; If the Number of Bidders was encreaſed, the Market Price of Lands would be raiſed, and a Monopolizing Member of ſome excluſive Company, who had got rich by confining the Commerce of the Kingdom, would be obliged to give ſomething more for the Purchaſe of Eſtates. It is true, the Country Gentleman would be benefited thereby, who perhaps ſold Part of his Eſtate to portion out his Daughters, or to pay off a Mortgage: And the Kingdom would be enriched by ſuch an Acceſſion of Wealth, as rich Foreigners would bring in;—nay, vaſt Sums of Money would be prevented from going out, which at preſent are yearly ſent abroad, in order to pay the Intereſt due from the public Funds;—and if any Foreigner, originally poor, got rich in this Country by his Labour and Induſtry, he might be enabled to lay out his Wealth, where he got it, inſtead of carrying it away, as is the Caſe at preſent. Theſe are Advantages, National and Commercial;—But what is all this to the Monopoliſt? And why ſhould he conſider any Perſon or Thing, but his own particular Intereſt?

II. A SECOND Propoſal is, that Foreigners reſiding in *England*, and importing *Raw Materials* in *Britiſh* Ships, navigated according to Law, for the Employment of our own Poor, or other Merchandiſes purchaſed with *Britiſh* Manufactures, ſhould pay no greater Duties or Impoſitions of ANY Kind, than are paid by the Natural-born Subjects. For, in the name of common Senſe, why ſhould there be a Difference? And upon what Account muſt the Intereſt of a Nation be ſacrificed for a few Individuals?—Thus for Example, as the Importation of Camels Hair,

Hair, *Carmenia* Wool and Goats Hair, *Spaniſh* Wool, and all Sorts of Wool for making our fineſt Cloths, Hats, *&c.* ſeveral Sorts of Hair, and ſeveral Sorts of foreign Drugs for Dying; Hemp, Flax, and unwrought Iron; Furs, Kelp for making Glaſs, *&c.* Olive Oil for the Woollen and Soap Manufactures, Raw Silk, Mohair Yarn, and other Sorts of Yarn, Cotton Wool, Wood, *&c. &c.* I ſay, as the Importation of theſe, and ſuch like Articles, is for the Employment of the People in honeſt Labour and Induſtry, to the unſpeakable Advantage of the Kingdom in general, and of the Landed Intereſt in particular, why ſhould not ſuch *Raw Materials* be imported as *cheap* as poſſible? And what is it to the Kingdom, who hath the ſelling of them, provided the Manufacturers be not confined to *one Market*, but may take their *Choice*, and deal with thoſe that uſe them beſt? And if other Merchandiſes are imported by way of *Exchange* for *Britiſh* Manufactures, why ſhould there be an additional Tax laid upon them? That is, in plain *Engliſh*, why ſhould our own Manufactures be taxed the heavier, becauſe a Foreigner benefited this Country by exporting them? — Private Intereſt, I allow, will plead hard for Confinements and Reſtrictions:—But the more it pleads for ſuch Monopolies and Engroſſings, the more plainly it appears, that the public Good can only be promoted by a free and open Trade, and by Rivalſhips and Competitions.

III. IT is propoſed, that all Foreigners reſiding in *England*, and navigating their Ships according to Law, ſhall be ſo far deemed *Natives*, as to be intitled to the Freedom of the *Turkey*, the *Ruſſia*, or any other of our Companies trading to foreign Parts, upon paying the uſual and legal Fines upon ſuch Occaſions. — The Reaſons of this Propoſal are ſo obvious, that even Monopoly itſelf cannot openly oppoſe them,

them, but must take a round-about Way in order to perplex the Subject, and to lead Men off from the true Scent. But let the Country Gentleman, let the Shop-keeper and Manufacturer, let all Persons, who have the National Good truly at Heart, rest the Matter upon this single Point, that Rivalships and Competitions are the best Means of exporting the greatest Quantities of *British* Manufactures, and of importing Raw Materials and other Merchandises on the *lowest* Terms. For all Men, whether Natives or Foreigners, would be Monopolists, if they could: And therefore the only Way to cause this monopolizing Spirit to operate for the public Benefit, is to create as many Rivals and Competitors, as are willing to engage in the Trade. — Put therefore the following Case, *viz.* Were a certain Number of Farmers, or Country Gentlemen, to obtain an exclusive Charter for disposing of their Corn at their own Price, — another Set for selling Hay, — another for Butter and Cheese, — and a fourth for Flesh and Cattle; would not the monopolizing Member of some exclusive Company immediately object to this Proceeding, and plead most vehemently, that all Markets ought to be free and open? And yet,

——— *Mutato Nomine, de te*
Fabula Narratur. ———

THIS being the Case, it is to be hoped, the Landed Interest will consider this Affair, and make the right Application.

IV. THE last Proposal is, That the Merchants and Manufacturers of this Kingdom shall be allowed to send Commissions to what Factors or Agents abroad they shall think most useful, for carrying on their Affairs. For if a foreign Factor, by superior Skill,

Skill, or more extenſive Knowledge and Correſpondence, by greater Œconomy, or leſs Factorage, ſhall be able to ſell a greater Quantity of *Britiſh* Manufactures (ſuppoſe in *Ruſſia*, or *Turkey*, or our own Plantations) and make larger Returns of Raw Materials, than an *Engliſh* Factor either would, or could do; why ſhould it be unlawful to employ this Foreigner? That is, in other Words, why ſhould the *Engliſh* Nation be made a Sacrifice? Why ſhould our Labour be taxed, and the Machines of Commerce obſtructed in their Motion, meerly for the Sake of confining the Commiſſion-Money to an *Engliſh* Factor, and of enriching *one Man* at the Expence of the Public?—If the Trade was free, every Man would naturally chooſe that Agent, who would ſerve him beſt, let his Country be what it will.—And ſuch Agent or Factor would be much likelier to continue faithful in his Service, as he knew he was on his *good Behaviour*, ſeeing that his Principal was at liberty to employ others, if he did not approve of him. In ſhort, when *Engliſh* Factors know, that their Conſtituents at Home are reſtrained from employing any but *themſelves*, they naturally run into *Combinations*, and are tempted to make a bad uſe of this excluſive Privilege. For the Power of Harm is Harm: And many Kings have proved Tyrants meerly by the Temptation of *deſpotic* Power, who in a limited Monarchy would have made excellent Princes.

THUS, Sir, I have finiſhed my Obſervations, according to your Deſire: and have only to add, that if theſe four *National* Propoſals were paſſed into a Law, you never would hear of one Naturalization Bill more. For they contain all the Privileges (nay, and ſome additional ones) that are implied under the Term *Naturalization*. And as the Country Gentleman, the Shop-keeper, the Manufacturer, the Jour-

neyman, and the Day-Labourer, as Clergy and Laity, Churchmen and Diſſenters, as Men of all Ranks and Conditions, can have no Objection to ſuch a Law,—it were greatly to be wiſhed, that it might paſs as ſoon as poſſible. Then the Naturalization of the *Jews* might be revoked; then the Nation would ſee clearly the true State of the Caſe, and be able to diſcern who were real Patriots, who were Friends to their Country, who were honeſt and upright Men, who were Chriſtians *indeed*, and who were NOT.

BUT if a *certain* Part of the City of *London* (not the *largeſt*, the moſt *opulent*, or the moſt *knowing* in mercantile Affairs,—nor yet the moſt *loyal* to their Prince) ſhould diſlike the Contents of ſuch a Bill, for Reaſons *well known* to themſelves, and not wholly *unknown* to others, they may petition for an *Exception* for their Port and City:—but ſurely it is *too much* to aſk, that all Out-ports and the reſt of the Kingdom ſhould continue their Fetters and Chains, for the Sake of keeping them Company.

LET me farther obſerve, that whoever has a Mind to get a full Inſight into the *patriotical* Views and *upright* Intentions of thoſe, who greatly *diſtinguiſhed* themſelves in a *late Affair*,—he ſhould make himſelf acquainted with the State of the *Orphan Fund* in the City of *London*:—A Fund ſtill continued at 4 *℔ Cent.* while the Money of Widows and Orphans, at leaſt equally diſtreſſed, is in Fact and Reality in the other Stocks under three. Such a remarkable *Partiality* will naturally lead him to inquire into the *true* Reaſons and Motives for continuing this *unneceſſary* Expence:—From whence will reſult certain Diſcoveries concerning the CUI BONO, or the particular Intereſt and extenſive Influence ſupported by theſe PENSIONS. But what makes this Affair ſtill the more extraordinary is, that this Orphan Fund is a National Debt, the firſt contracted in Point of Time, being the Money, for which King CHARLES II. ſhut up the Exchequer,

Exchequer, and therefore ought to have been the firſt upon the Reduction. — Add to this, that that honourable Gentleman, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo zealouſly in the Reduction of the Intereſt of the other Funds (which was truly an excellent Scheme) *moſt undoubtedly* would have *choſe* to have *begun* with ſhewing a good Example *at Home*, — had he not met with ſome Obſtructions to ſo good a Deſign. — But what theſe Obſtructions are, muſt be left to a *Parliamentary Inquiry* to diſcover. *Laſtly*, The Poſtponing of the Reduction of the Intereſt of this Fund deſerves to be particularly taken Notice of, as the Tax alloted for the Support of ſo high an Intereſt is the moſt burdenſome, that can well be conceived, being a Tax upon Coals, *i. e.* upon Labour, Commerce, and Navigation in every View; and particularly grievous to the poorer Inhabitants of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, and all the Country up the *Thames*, and every Branch of it; and therefore it ought to have been aboliſhed as ſoon as poſſible. N. B. *Part of the Alien Duty goes to ſupport this Orphan Fund.*

You will likewiſe be the better Judge, how far a regard to Truth and *Matters of Fact* hath the Aſcendency in ſome Minds, by attending to the extraordinary Poſitions laid down in a *certain Place*, relating to the unfortunate Captain *Codd* of *Briſtol*, and the Reflections then caſt on the Out-ports in general; — alſo by *confronting* ſome Aſſertions, moſt poſitively inſiſted on, relating to the *Turkey* Company, with the *very By-Laws* of the ſaid Company.

I remain,

SIR, *&c.*

Joſiah Tucker.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the above Letter was ſent to the Preſs, a Thought came into my Mind to compare the Quotation inſerted Page 13, from Biſhop *Kidder* (as it ſtands in the general Collection of *Boyle*'s *Lectures*, Vol. I. Page 114) with his *Demonſtration of the Meſſiah*, publiſhed in three Parts: And, to my great Aſtoniſhment, I find the ſame excellent Paragraph in Chap I. of Part II. and yet ſeveral Hints in Part III. of a quite contrary Tendency, wherein he particularly recommends, that the *Jews* ſhould be kept LOW, in order to be made Chriſtians. This is very different from what he had ſaid before, and in its Conſequences muſt end in all Kinds of Perſecution. Now ſuch a glaring Inconſiſtency in ſo great a Man, is a lamentable Proof of the Weakneſs of human Nature; and ſhews too plainly, how eaſily even a good Mind may be infected with the reigning Diſtemper of the Times, — or at leaſt not ſufficiently firm to oppoſe it. For it is obſervable, That theſe Sermons were preached about the Year 1693; and then, as his Mind had received no Taint from popular Clamours, he ſpoke the true and genuine Sentiments of a benevolent Chriſtian Divine. But about nine Years afterwards, when the Cry waxed hot, That the Church was in Danger! and when every Man was *inſulted* and *reproached* as a *lukewarm* Chriſtian, as a *Diſſenter*, and perhaps a *Deiſt*,

Deiſt, or even an *Atheiſt*, if he ventured to inſinuate, That reaſonable Arguments, propoſed with Gentleneſs and Compaſſion, Peace and Love, were the *only Chriſtian* Methods of making Converts, and that Perſecution in every Shape tended to prejudice Perſons againſt the Truth:—At this Juncture, I ſay, the third and laſt Part of Biſhop *Kidder*'s Book was publiſhed; towards the Cloſe of which he ſeemed to accommodate his Reaſons and Arguments too much to the prevailing Humour of thoſe unhappy Times. And it is greatly to be feared, from what hath appeared of late, that the ſame Spirit is reviving again, to the unſpeakable Grief of every *true Member* of the Church of *England*, the great Diſcredit of the Proteſtant Name, and the real Injury of the Chriſtian Cauſe.

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A SECOND

LETTER

TO A

FRIEND

CONCERNING

NATURALIZATIONS:

WHEREIN

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A SECOND

LETTER

TO A

FRIEND.

SIR,

I Confeſs the Juſtice of your Remark, that I might have been more explicit in ſetting forth the legal Rights of Natural-born *Jews* to purchaſe Lands in *Fee.* Indeed I was unwilling to ſuppoſe, that any Perſons were ſo devoid of common Senſe as to believe the contrary. For with Reſpect to the public Cry, *No Jews! No Naturalization! Chriſtianity, and Old England for ever!* They are known to be Words of Courſe, invented purely for the Sake of inflaming the unthinking Populace againſt the next general Election. For, what could the *diſaffected* Party do (whoſe great End is defeated, when any Meaſures are purſued that really tend to the National

tional Advantage; becauſe that would confirm People in their Love and Obedience to the preſent Government;) — I ſay, What could they do, and how greatly would they be diſtreſſed, if they were debarred the Province of inventing Lies, and propagating Falſhoods? Thus, for Example, *Church and Sacheverell!* were formerly the Watch-Words, and laſted long: And while theſe *cant* Terms could be uſed as Engines to diſturb the public Tranquility, and ſerve the Intereſts of *France*, ſo long the *religious* Lord BOLINBROKE, the *honeſt* Alderman BARBER, and *chaſte* Mrs MANLY, with Hundreds of others of the ſame *virtuous* Characters, were zealous Friends to THE CHURCH, and would drink, with great Fervour, Damnation to *Fanatics*. But when this Pretence was worn out, and could ſerve no longer, then they threw off the Maſk, and gloried to appear in their proper Colours, *viz.* Deiſts by Profeſſion, as they were known before Atheiſts in Practice: Therefore, I concluded, That as the ſame Game was playing over again, People muſt ſee the real Drift of the preſent Clamours, and regard them only as the *Lye of the Day*.

BUT ſince you aſſure me, that many Perſons of good Underſtandings in other Reſpects, and of honeſt Hearts, are made to believe, through want of proper Information, and by ſeeing through *falſe Mediums*, That Natural-born *Jews* cannot purchaſe Lands; nay, That all their Goods and Poſſeſſions lie at the meer Mercy of the Crown; I ſhall for their Sakes attempt to ſet this Matter in a clear Light, and ſuggeſt ſuch Reaſons as will enable them to detect every Fallacy that may be offered.

FIRST then it will be proper to ſketch out a general Idea of our antient Conſtitution, during the former Reſidence of the *Jews* in *England*, *viz.* from the Conqueſt till the eighteenth Year of EDWARD I. the Time of their Departure; containing a Space of

about

about two hundred Years. And afterwards we may proceed to compare that Plan of Government with the preſent, and obſerve how far our Conſtitution has been altered, and whether for the better, or the worſe. —

Now as our antient Conſtitution was only a Part of that Gothic Government, which overſpread all *Europe*, though in ſome Places a little differently modified from others; it may be ſufficient to obſerve, That the Gothic Governments allowed, in a civil Senſe, only three Diſtinctions of People, the Military Claſs, the Servile, and the Claſs of Citizens and Burghers.

I. THE Military Claſs: Theſe were variouſly dignified, and diſtinguiſhed according to their Rank and Quality. But they all agreed in this, That they were *Soldiers by Birth and Profeſſion*: The greater Tenants, otherwiſe called *Barons*, held their Eſtates immediately from the Crown; and moſt of the Knights, Eſquires, Gentlemen, and others, held by Military Service under them. But the general Nature of the Military Tenure, though it paſſed under different Names, was the ſame throughout, *viz.* That whenever the immediate Lord called upon his Military Tenants, they were to obey his Summons, attend him to the Wars, and bring together ſuch a Proportion of Men, as their reſpective Eſtates were charged with: And theſe Tenures were ſo ſtrictly kept up, that Eccleſiaſtics themſelves, Biſhops and Abbots were not exempted; but often forced to attend in Perſon, and always obliged to ſend their Quota of Men, according to their Baronies and Fiefs.

II. THE Baſe or Servile Claſs: Theſe were otherwiſe called *Villains*, being in reality the Slaves of their Lords. Moſt of them belonged to ſome particular Eſtate or Manor, and might be bought and ſold

sold together with the Lands. They durst not * stir beyond the Bounds of their Manor, without the express Leave of their Lord, and never were entrusted with Arms, or brought to the Wars, but in Times of the greatest Exigency. However, in Process of Time they acquired a little more Liberty, and had several Privileges and Advantages conferred upon them by Means of Copyholds, Socage, Tenures, *&c.* and could obtain some tolerable Redress from their Grievances.

III. THE third Class was that of Citizens and Burghers; these were all, or for the most Part, *Liberi Homines Regni*, Freemen of the Realm, as well as free of their respective Cities, or Towns. But being bred up to Trades, they were not regarded in the same honourable Light, as those who were Gentlemen, or Soldiers by Birth and Profession. Yet in Fact, they had so much of the Military Air of the Gothic Constitution, that they were considered as the

* *Note*, This Restraint upon Slaves not to stir beyond the Bounds of their Manors, seems to have suggested the first Thought for obliging the *Poor* not to leave their respective Parishes (which were originally of the same Extent with the Manor) unless they had Certificates for that Purpose. But the Makers of those Laws little considered the Difference of Times, and the Variation of Circumstances. For in a *Commercial* Country, the People must follow their Work, be it far or near; and as Trade and Manufactures are always shifting Places; nay, as one Kind of Work may only last the Summer Season, and another at a Distance be properer for the Winter:—It therefore seems unavoidable, That People should be permitted to remove, as their Work removes. — As to Certificates of Parish Settlements, removing of Paupers, Law-Suits, *&c.* they are the Nuisance of a trading Nation; they hurt the Rich, discourage the Poor, and serve only to set Parishes, and Neighbours at Variance. If each Parish were obliged to maintain those poor Persons, that had resided and worked among them for a competent Time (suppose six Months) and then were taken sick, or otherwise incapacitated from Labour; every one must see, that this is the justest and fairest Method, as the Parish had reaped some Benefit from their Labour, and would prove in the End much the cheapest.

the proper Garriſon of their reſpective Towns, and did Military Duty very regularly, having Arms and Accoutrements, and ſet Times for Exerciſe. In great Cities each particular Trade, where the Number was ſufficient, was erected into a diſtinct Community, having their reſpective Badges, Trophies, and Colours: The Maſter for the Time being of this incorporated Company was properly the Captain of his Trade, as the Mayor was the Colonel of the whole Regiment, and Commander in Chief within his own Garriſon. And they were obliged to this Punctuality of Military Diſcipline, not only by the Common Law of the Realm, but by expreſs Statutes, one of which was made at the very Time under our preſent Conſideration, *viz.* 13 ELIZ. 1 Stat. of *Wincheſter*, Chap. 4. This Act preſcribes the Hours at which the Gates of walled Towns ſhall be ſhut and opened, the Number of Burghers required to do Duty at each Gate, and the Obligation laid upon all Perſons, even Inmates, to lodge every Night within the Town, not in the Suburbs; with other Matters of the like Import. And at the 6th Chap. of the ſame Statute, a very particular Proviſion is made for arming all the free Subjects of the Kingdom, from the Years of Fifteen to Sixty. But note, This was no new Law, but only the Revival of an antient Cuſtom, as appears from the very Words of the Statute.

AND here, Sir, give me Leave to make a ſmall Digreſſion, in order to explain a Phraſe or two, ſtill retained in the Oaths of the Freemen of the City of *Briſtol*, and of many other Places; though not one in ten thouſand can be ſuppoſed to know the original Meaning of them.

THE firſt is, where the Perſon ſwears at Admiſſion to his Freedom, that he will not take an Apprentice who is *Bond in Blood*. Now the *Bond in Blood* were no other than the Slaves or Villains, that is, the

the second Class of Men here set forth. And the Reason why this extraordinary Care was taken to prevent such Persons becoming Citizens, or Burghers, was this, That after they had learnt the Trade, and even set up, the Lord or Master could still challenge them as his Slaves, and take them away as his proper Goods and Chattles, because they were *Bond in Blood:* Which Act might not only bring a *Disgrace* on the City, but also a *Detriment*, inasmuch as the Slave, being obliged to attend his Master, would not only carry the Mystery of the Trade along with him, but might instruct other Slaves also in the same.

THE other Instance is the following; A Freeman promises on Oath, that he will *never wear any Man's Livery but Mr Mayor's.* This, you will say, is a very odd kind of a Promise; but it was necessary to be made in those Days. For the Livery here intended, was not the modern Livery of Servants, but the Livery of *Retaining:* That is a Livery, or Badge, whereby one Person was supposed to be *retained*, and *ready* to engage in all the Quarrels of another, *right* or *wrong*.

BELIEVE me, Sir, I am in Pain for you, on account of this Narration. For when you read it, you will hardly think it can be true; and yet at the same Time your Regard for the Writer would make you conclude, that he would not impose upon you with idle Stories and Romances. Therefore to put your Faith, or your Friendship no longer to the Trial, I beg Leave to produce one Voucher among many, even an Act of Parliament, 1st of RICH. II. Chap. 7. made on purpose to correct those Excesses. The Words of the Act are as follows, "Item, Because "that divers People of small Revenue in Lands, "Rents, or other Possessions, do make great Reti-"nue of People, as well of Esquires as others, in "many Parts of the Realm, giving to them Hats, "and

" and other Liveries of one Suit by the Year, tak-
" ing of them the Value of the ſame Livery, or
" percaſe double Value, by ſuch *Covenant and Aſſu-*
" *rance*, that every of them ſhall maintain other
" in all Quarrels be they reaſonable or unreaſona-
" ble, to the great Miſchief and Oppreſſion of the
" People, It is ordained and aſſented, *&c.*"

AND now, my good Friend, what think you of an *Engliſh* Eſquire taking a Hat for a Livery to be another's *Bully* by the Year, in all his Quarrels reaſonable or unreaſonable? Is there any Thing that I have ſaid equal to this? But it ſeems the good People of Cities and Boroughs, would engage in no Quarrels but thoſe of Mr Mayor: and him they thought themſelves bound in Duty and Honour to ſupport *per Fas aut Nefas*, eſpecially if it was in a Matter that regarded ſome other Town: For every Corporation thought themſelves in a *State of War* with the other, and that they had a Right to make Repriſals upon the Enemy;—or, as Lord *Coke* expreſſes it, in his 2d Inſtitute, p. 204. " The Miſ-
" chief was, That divers Cities, the Cinque Ports,
" Boroughs, Towns Corporate, *&c.* within this
" Realm, *did claim ſuch a Cuſtom*, That if any of
" one City, Society, or Merchant-Guild, were in-
" debted to any of another;—Then if any other
" Perſon of the ſame City, Society, or Merchant-
" Guild that the *Debtor* was of, came into the City,
" Society, or Merchant-Guild whereof the *Creditor*
" was,—That he (the Creditor) would charge ſuch
" a FOREIGNER for the Debt of the other." Doubtleſs theſe were very happy Times! And what a Pity is it, That thoſe Perſons who are ſo laviſh in their Praiſes of *Old England*, and diſſatisfied with our preſent modern Conſtitution, had not lived in theſe *golden Days*, when they might have enjoyed *Old England* in Perfection?

To return therefore to the general Subject:—— From what has been said, you may conceive a sufficient Idea of the Nature of the Gothic Constitution; at least so far as relates to the Subject before us: For there is no need of descending into minuter Distinctions and Subdivisions. And from hence it appears, That all Persons whatever were, in some Sense, either *fighting Men* or *Slaves*. As fighting Men they were almost continually in Exercise; because the Kingdom was scarce twelve Months together without Broils or Commotions, in one Part or other; sometimes the Kings and the Barons entered the Lists with all the Fury and Rancour of a Civil War; and very often the Barons made Inroads on each other, in which the neighbouring Towns and Cities were sure to be involved; at other Times the *Scotch* and *Welch* held the Kingdom in perpetual Alarms. And where nothing of this happened, there were Feuds among themselves, and sometimes Trials at Law decided by Duels, and single Combats in a kind of *judicial* Way.

Now in such a Situation to what Class of People could the *Jews* be supposed to belong? not to the first Class, because these were the Barons of the Realm, the Knights, and Soldiers by Birth and Profession: They were the Men of Arms; but the *Jews* would not have been allowed to carry Arms, had they attempted it.

And as to the second Class, They were no other than Woodcutters, Foresters, Huntsmen, Herdsmen, and Ploughmen, as far as the Knowledge of the Plough and Agriculture obtained in those barbarous Times. But the *Jews* were bred up to other Employments, and consequently were not fit for any of these Purposes. Not to mention that the Villains, or Slaves belonging to Manors, were Persons whose Ancestors, for the most Part, had served in

in the ſame Capacity, being regarded as Appendages to the Freehold.

AND with Reſpect to the third Claſs, the Citizens and Burgeſſes, it is eaſy to ſee, That they never would incorporate with the *Jews*, both for Reaſon of Monopoly and Self-Intereſt, as well as many others.—Indeed, if they had laid the former aſide, there were ſeveral Conſiderations that would have prevented. For the *Jews* were not only debarred the Uſe of Arms, but they could not join in the religious Proceſſions in honour of their reſpective tutelar Saints, which was one great Employment of the Companies of Trades in thoſe Times.

THEREFORE, upon the Whole, in what Light could theſe *Jews* be conſidered at that Juncture, but as the immediate Dependants on the Crown, and wholly protected by the Royal Prerogative? For they were not of the Military Order;—They were not Villains belonging to Manors;—They were not Burgeſſes: So that in ſhort no other State remained for them, but to be the immediate Vaſſals of the Crown. And I am ſo far from denying what an eminent Perſon in the Law hath lately quoted out of *Spelman*, and other old Writers, *viz. Judæi & omnia ſua Regis ſunt:* i. e. "The *Jews* and all that belong "to them are the King's Property:"—I ſay, I am ſo far from denying it, that I maintain it muſt have been ſo at that Juncture, according to the Conſtitution then in being.—Nay, this farther appears, if we conſider, that the King had a Right to Military Service from all Lands, and all Subjects whatever; therefore if the *Jews* were permitted to ſettle in *England* at ſuch a Seaſon, and to purchaſe Lands, (of which the moſt authentic Records are ſtill extant) he had it in his Power to preſcribe what Terms, and Conditions he pleaſed by way of *equivalent* for the Military Service, and as a Compenſation for his Royal Protection.

NAY, suppose these People had not been *Jews*, but *Orthodox Christians*, approved and countenanced by the Pope himself:—Yet if there had been something so peculiar in their Conduct, their Principles, or Behaviour, that they must have remained a distinct People from the Rest of the Kingdom, in regard to their *Civil* and *Military* Capacity, what could have been done with them, or how could they have been disposed of, unless they took Shelter under the Protection of the Crown, and became its immediate Vassals and Dependants? Perhaps indeed the other Orders of the Kingdom, or the Pope himself, or some foreign State, might have interceeded in their behalf; so that they might not have been altogether dependant upon arbitrary Will and Pleasure;—yet if nothing of this had intervened, I assert they must have become the Vassals and Property of the Crown at that Juncture, because there was no other Tenure remaining for them.

BUT, in the Name of common Sense, what is all this to us? And why must we be concluded in these modern Times, by obsolete Precedents and Examples drawn from a Constitution, which no more relates to us in *this Affair*, than the Constitution of *Turky* or *Morocco?* For the Royal Prerogative is quite another Thing now, to what it was five hundred Years ago: And it is highly absurd to quote the Power of our Kings, exercised in former Times, as a *fit Precedent* for *modern Practice*. Besides, It should be considered, That the Gothic Tenures, together with the Courts of Wards and Liveries, were abolished at the Restoration: And after that, the glorious Revolution put an entire Period to the very Remains of those shocking Tyrannies and Oppressions; and begun a new System of Civil and Commercial Government. I have added *Commercial Government:* For the Revolution, and the Consequences of it, gave a new Turn to every Branch of our Commerce.

merce.—Before that Period it was the wretched *Policy* of our *Kings*, *1ſt*, To reduce every Part of our Trade, Foreign and Domeſtic, into *Monopolies* and *Excluſions*: *2dly*, To lay Taxes on all our Manufactures, even Cloth itſelf, upon Exportation: *3dly*, To lay Taxes on all raw Materials coming into the Kingdom: *4thly*, To admit the Goods and Manufactures of our Rivals upon very eaſy Duties, or in a manner Duty-free: *5thly*, To take no Care for encouraging particular Branches of Trade (not ſufficiently profitable to the Adventurer, tho' greatly ſo to the Public) by Means of Premiums and Bounties: *6thly*, To admit of no Drawbacks of Duties upon the Re-exportation of Foreign Goods. Now all this wretched Policy, calculated only to impoveriſh a Nation, was altered in a good Degree by the Revolution, which therefore may be ſaid to have *begun* and *carried on* a new Syſtem of Commerce. It was altered, I ſay, as far as the Times would permit: For a *great Deal* ſtill remains to be done. But as the Plan is chalked out for us we cannot err, unleſs Self-Intereſt, Party, and Monopoly, ſhall defeat the Endeavours of thoſe, who truly mean the Public Good, and would purſue it ſteadily. This is true *Patriotiſm*, and acting for the *Country*, that is, the *National Intereſt*; whereas the other is only throwing Duſt in People's Eyes, and the Cant of Faction. Thus, for Example, Ignorant and well-meaning People have been made to believe, That the Taxes before the Revolution were *lighter* than thoſe that ſucceeded it. But if they underſtood the true Nature of Taxes, and the proper Methods of laying them on, they would entertain a very mean Opinion either of the *Honeſty* or *Capacity* of thoſe who broached this Falſhood. For *High Taxes* are one Thing, and *Heavy Taxes* are another: And it is as evident as any Propoſition in *Euclid*, That a Kingdom may be beggared by a Tax that produces no more than 500000*l.*

a Year, and enriched by another that produces 5000000*l.* In ſhort, If the Taxes are ſo laid on as to check or ſtop the Circulation of Induſtry and Labour, How can that Kingdom be *rich?* But if they tend to promote and encourage it, How can ſuch a Kingdom be *poor?* Nay, are not the Taxes themſelves a Cauſe of its Wealth? It is a Pity that theſe plain Truths are ſo little underſtood, eſpecially by the Gentlemen of the Landed Intereſt, *whom it moſt concerns.*

THUS, Sir, you ſee what vaſt Improvements have been made by the Revolution both in *Civil* and *Commercial* Liberty: And we might ſtill ſucceſsfully and happily proceed, were it not for thoſe eternal Foes of the public Welfare, Party and Monopoly. Civil Liberty is thereby turned into Licentiouſneſs, and as to *Commercial*, every Man ſeems deſirous of enjoying it himſelf, and denying it to others. However, ſince this monopolizing Spirit is now exerting its baleful Influence againſt one or two Foreign *Jews*, pretending, That they ought not to be allowed the Privilege of *free Merchandiſe* (or in plain *Engliſh*, not to *rival* the *Turky* Company and the Monopoliſts of *London*) becauſe they are Slaves by Condition; I ſay, as ſuch is the Pretence, it hath given Occaſion to examine into the Foundation of this Opinion: And what is the Reſult of our Inquiries? Why truly, hence it evidently appears, That the Slavery of the *Jews* under our former Kings, was no other than a neceſſary Conſequence of the Military Tenures and the Gothic Conſtitution of thoſe Times. But this Slavery, with other Kinds of Slavery, and a thouſand Articles of a ſimilar Nature, have been long ſince aboliſhed. Nor is it in the Power of the Crown to ſtretch the Prerogative to the Detriment of the People.—Times were, when it was dangerous for a Man to declare himſelf ſo plainly on this Head: But, God be thanked, they are no more:

And

And his preſent Majeſty doth not want any Sycophant to pay his Court to him, by ſaying, That he is abſolute, and *above the Law:* He is the true Father of his People by protecting them in their juſt Rights and Liberties, civil and religious, and by giving them the Opportunity of enjoying the Bleſſings of a free Conſtitution. This is all he aims at; and this is his Glory.

THE Gentlemen of the Landed Intereſt hold their Eſtates by Tenures that are not ſubject to the Will and Pleaſure of the Crown. They are not obliged to attend the King in his Progreſſes. They cannot be ſummoned to appear in this or that Part of the Kingdom by a *certain* Day at a general *Rendezvous*, under a Pretence of going to the Wars, or taking their Advice on ſome ſuppoſed Emergency: For they may peremtorily refuſe, and yet run no Riſque of forfeiting either Liberty or Property: Nay, the meaneſt Freeholder cannot be now compelled to ſerve as a Soldier without his own Conſent. And as to Fines and Forfeitures, Compoſitions, Scutage. Money, Duties, *&c. &c.* they are now aboliſhed; and at preſent we know no more of them than their Names, as they ſtand in old Records, and Books of Hiſtory.

LIKEWISE the Commonalty of *England*, are now the freeſt People under the Sun. They are their own Maſters, and may be happy if they pleaſe;—The Law is as open for them as for the greateſt Lords. And there is no ſuch Thing as Vaſſalage of any Kind now ſubſiſting in *England.*

MOREOVER, as to Cities and Boroughs;—In what Senſe can the Freemen of theſe Places be looked upon at preſent as *Military Men*, or the Garriſons of their reſpective Towns? Indeed they ſometimes march with Colours, but it is in a very peaceable Way, *viz.* on the 29th of *May*, the 5th of *November*, or ſome ſuch Day of Proceſſion, where no War

is

is ſuppoſed, or intended. Alſo the young Apprentices in many Places walk about on *Shrove-Tueſday*, their Spears decked with Ribbands, and themſelves dreſſed like Merry-Andrews, according to the Cuſtom of the Champions of old, parading before they entered the Liſts: And this is all that we have remaining of the antient Military Exerciſes, the *Haſtiludia*, or Tilting with Spears, formerly kept up in Towns and Cities.

BE pleaſed therefore to lay all theſe Things together; and conſider alſo the vaſt Alteration made in our Civil and Commercial Conſtitution, ſince the Building of large Suburbs, the Erection of many Towns of great Commerce, (each of them much more conſiderable than *London* itſelf was formerly) where People live and exerciſe what Trade they pleaſe, without being free of any Company or Corporation; reflect likewiſe that theſe *open* Places are found to increaſe, and thrive much more than others ſhut up with Charters, and excluſive Corporations. —And then I leave it to your own Judgment to determine whether there is any thing in the Nature of our preſent Conſtitution that forbids *Jews* to *claſs* with the Reſt of the Subjects, *as far* as relates to Matters of mere *civil Concern* in a *private* Station. And if there is not, what Pretence can remain at this Day, that they are ſtill under the immediate Prerogative of the Crown, and not upon the ſame Footing with other People, as to their Civil Rights and Liberties? In ſhort, **Ceſſante Ratione Legis ceſſat ipſaLex*, that is, "When the *Reaſon* of the Law ceaſes, the *Obligation* ceaſes," is an univerſal Maxim in the Common Law: And if it is not, there is no knowing where to ſtop; there is no ſuch Thing as ſetting Bounds to the Prerogative, except in ſuch Caſes as are particularly bounded by Acts of Parliament;— And

* Lord COKE quotes this Maxim in his Expoſition of the Magna Charta itſelf, 2d Inſtitut. page 11.

And if this is to pass for Law, if the Prerogative is still in force in all other Points, God knows whose Life, Liberty, or Property might be next in Danger, had we a Prince on the Throne that would take Advantage of such shocking Positions. But — No Thanks to those who are pleased to call themselves *Patriots, and the Country Party*,—we have nothing to fear on that Head.

BESIDES, if the *Jews* are still the Vassals and Property of the Crown, what is become of the Courts instituted on purpose for their *vassal* State and Condition? Where are now their Chief Justices, their Registers, Notaries, and other Officers formerly belonging to them? And when a Sum of Money is due from a Christian to a *Jew*, doth the King demand that Debt, as his own Right, which our former Kings really did (see *Molloy de Jure Maritimo*, Book III. Chap. 3.) when the *Jews* and their Effects were considered as Regal Property?—No: All this is now no more: And if a *Jew* is to *sue*, or be *sued*; or to have a Trial at Law in any Respect whatever, there are no other Courts for the Cause to be tried in, but the general Courts of the Kingdom: Nor is there a single Instance to be produced of a *Royal Extent* being taken out for a Debt due to a *Jew*; which was the Case formerly, when such Debts were considered as owing to the Crown. And happy sure it is for us, that these Things are so much altered for the Better. Now this Circumstance alone, were there no other, is a plain Evidence, that the *Jews*, in the Eye of the Law, are regarded as *free Subjects*, the *Liberi Homines Regni* mentioned by Magna Charta.

THUS far, Sir, I have proceeded in the argumentative Way, proving, from the Reason of the Thing, That all Slavery is now abolished, and that every Man born in *England* is entitled to the common Protection, and general Benefit of the Law.

THIS, I say, is the Tenor of the Common Law of the Land, *as it stands at this Day.* —Indeed I grant that particular Statutes *may* make Exceptions, whenever the Legislature pleases. But in relation to the *Jews*, I ask, Have they yet done it? Have they taken from them the *mere civil Rights of Subjects*, which the Common Law of the Land now gives them? No, they have not. What then is the Inference, but that these Privileges remain to them by *Birthright* and *Inheritance?*

I WILL now, Sir, proceed to shew, That what is here advanced is confirmed and supported by the concurrent Testimony of Lawyers of great Eminence: Some of these indeed are still alive, adorning the highest Stations in their Profession, and doing Honour to their Country: their Names I must therefore suppress, as the present Hurry, in which this Treatise is written, prevents me from making an Application for Leave to publish them.

BUT as to others, the first I shall mention is the late Lord Chief Justice RAYMOND. And that I may not fail in Exactness and Fidelity, I will transcribe all the Cases and Opinions in Order as they were given.

OPINIONS of Counsel relating to the Power of the Jews *to purchase Lands.*

A. B. begot and born in *England*, but whose Parents were both Aliens, has an Intention to purchase an Estate in Fee.

I. *Quere.* Whether he can enjoy it, being the Son of an Alien, and of the Profession of a *Jew?*

Answer. I am of Opinion that *A. B.* is a *natural-born* Subject of the King of *Great Britain*, and as such capable to purchase, and enjoy Lands in Fee; and I do not know that the Law has put any Disabi-

lity

lity upon him, upon account of his being by Profeſſion a *Jew*.

II. *Quere.* Whether ſuch Lands will deſcend to his Iſſue, or be forfeited to the Crown?

Anſwer. I am of Opinion, That all Lands he ſhall purchaſe, will deſcend to his Children, as the Lands of other Subjects will, and not be forfeited to the Crown.

III. *Quere.* If he procures Letters of Denization, whether he may then purchaſe, and enjoy Lands in Fee?

Anſwer. I take it Letters of Denization will not put him in a better Condition as to his Capacity of purchaſing Lands, than he is in already by his being born a Subject to the Crown of *Great Britain*.

Lincoln's Inn. ROBERT RAYMOND. *Feb.* 23, 1718.

Quere. If a Subject of his Majeſty born in *England*, or of free Denizens, being a *Jew*, may purchaſe Lands?

Mr LUTWICH. I do not know that in any of the Law Books, there is any Diſtinction made between a *Jew* Subject born in *England*, or made Denizen, and any other: and there being no Act of Parliament, that I ever heard of, for diſabling *Jews* from purchaſing Lands, I conceive that they may purchaſe in the ſame Inſtances, and with the ſame Capacity as Chriſtians, or *Proteſtants*, may purchaſe.

Serjeant WHITAKER. I am of Opinion that a Subject of his Majeſty born in *England* (though a *Jew*) may purchaſe, and hold Lands ſo purchaſed in *England*; and I am of Opinion, A free Denizen, after

he is ſo made, may alſo purchaſe, and hold Lands by him purchaſed, though ſuch Denizen be a *Jew*.

Mr TALBOT. I am of Opinion that he may purchaſe——Purchaſes by *Jews* are not frequent, but I do not know any Law which renders them incapable of purchaſing upon Account of Religion.

Mr KETTELBY. I am of Opinion, That a *Jew* born in *England*, or being an Alien born, if he be denizated by Letters Patents, or naturalized by Act of Parliament, is as well qualified to purchaſe Lands, and to hold, and enjoy them, as any other Subject whatever.

T. REEVE. I know of no Law that hath made *Jews* incapable of purchaſing Lands; and am of Opinion, That a *Jew*, that is a natural-born Subject, or naturalized, or made Denizen, may purchaſe Lands. *February* 27, 1723.

C. WEARG. I do not think there is any ſufficient Foundation for the common Notion that *Jews* are not entitled to the ſame civil Rights with People of other Religions: I apprehend while they are Aliens, they are ſubject to the Incapacities of Aliens; when they are made Denizens, or if born in *England*, they are entitled to the ſame civil Rights with Perſons of other Perſuaſions, that are made Denizens, or born in *England*.
March 2, 1729.

To theſe might be added the *unanimous* Opinions of many eminent Perſonages now alive, each of whoſe Judgments any Man would rely upon in Matters of Property, were it convenient to mention their Names.

AND

AND now, Sir, give me Leave to aſk, What can any reaſonable Man deſire more? Will he ſay, That this is not Evidence enough? I cannot perſuade myſelf that he will: But if he ſhould — Why then we have much more to produce: For though the Authority of Lord Chancellors, Lord Chief Juſtices, Kings Attorneys General, Kings Counſel, and other Sages of the Law, is very great;—yet the Authority of Public Charters, and Acts of the Legiſlature, is ſtill greater: And to this ſhall be made the next Appeal. ——

ONLY let me beg Leave to offer one previous Remark, concerning the Conſequences of the preſent Diſpute; for this Conteſt is of a Nature ſo extenſive and important, that every Briton in the united Kingdom is deeply intereſted in the Event: It is a Conteſt, whether a certain Number of his Majeſty's Subjects, Natives of *Great Britain*, who have been uſed, taken, and accepted as *Freemen of the Realm* in all Tranſactions *public* and *private*, for near an hundred Years laſt paſt, ſhall now be ſtripped of their Liberties, *ſo long enjoyed*, and deemed abject Slaves and Vaſſals?—And whether their Eſtates, and Poſſeſſions of every kind, * *computed at five Millions ſterling*, are forfeitable to the Crown, and ſeizable at Pleaſure? This is the Diſpute.—And the Advocates for taking ſo *bold a ſtep* do not pretend to ſay, that the Legiſlature hath granted any new Powers to the King for doing ſo:—but that he hath an old inherent Right over their Lives and Fortunes, by virtue of the Royal Prerogative, as it ſtood five hundred Years ago. For it ſeems the Prerogative is of ſuch a Nature, that no Change of Time, no Alteration of Circumſtances, can abridge or alter it. Good Heavens! Is this poſſible! And could any Miniſter

* See a Tract, entitled, *Farther Conſiderations on the Act to permit Perſons profeſſing the Jewiſh Religion, to be naturalized by Parliament*, Page 35.

ter be so *audaciously wicked*, as to propose to begin to enslave a free Country by such a thin Disguise, so poor a Pretence! — No, Sir, the Minister did NOT propose it:—His Majesty has given the Nation sufficiently to understand, that he *rejects* such a Proposal with that *honest Indignation*, which is worthy of a King ruling over a free People;—And all the Friends of this mild, legal, and happy Government, protest against it in the most solemn Manner.—Who then did propose it? Why, Sir, the pretended *Patriots* did propose it: And those Gentlemen, who are pleased to call themselves the *Country Interest* do still propose it. They are the Men, and they only, that are for reviving *obsolete Claims* of the Prerogative, and subjecting Life, Liberty, and Property, to the absolute Will and Pleasure of the Crown, without Judge or Jury. However, before we tamely give up our Liberties, let us see what can be said in Vindication of them. Let us remember the Maxim, *Principiis obsta*; "resist the Beginning of Slavery, and the first Advances towards arbitrary Power."

I. Now first, we have to observe, That even the Crown had divested itself long ago of any Right or Title to the Exercise of this boundless Power. For the same King *John*, who granted *our Magna Charta*, granted also a Charter of Rights and Liberties to the *Jews* in the following Words.

"JOHN, by the Grace of God, *&c.* Know ye, "That We have granted to all the *Jews* of *England* "and *Normandy*, freely and honourably to reside "in our Dominions, and to hold of us all those "Things, which they held of King HENRY, the "Grandfather of our Father; and all those which "they rightly hold in & Lands, Fiefs, Mortgages, "and Purchases; and that they shall have all their "Liberties and Customs, as they enjoyed them, in "the Time of the aforesaid King HENRY, Grand-

"father

" father of our Father, *even better*, *more quietly*, and " honourably, *&c.*"

Now, Sir, judge you, and let every Reader judge, what *legal* Right, after the granting this Charter, had any * King of *England* to treat the *Jews* otherwiſe than a *Free People*; a People to be *protected* by the Royal Prerogative, not *enſlaved* by it? For if Regal Grants and Charters may be legally vacated, whenever the King pleaſes, I ſhould be glad to know, what Security will remain in future Times, that this ſame Doctrine, now levelled at the *Jews*, may not be turned on us, or our Poſterity? This truly is an intereſting Point, and deſerves Attention: —And let me farther obſerve, That the Charter granted to the *Jews*, is equally clear and explicit with our Magna Charta †:—Not to mention that it was

* In this Charter to the *Jews* the King did not mention his *Heirs and Succeſſors*: But theſe Words are not neceſſary for conſtituting the *perpetual Validity* of a Charter; there being thouſands of Royal Grants, Public Inſtruments, Letters Patent, and even Acts of Parliament, binding the Heirs and Succeſſors of the Prince on the Throne, *without* naming them.

† The great and eſſential Difference between the Magna Charta, and the Charter granted to the *Jews*, conſiſts in this,—That the Magna Charta was not an *Act of Grace*, but a Matter of *legal* and *conſtitutional* Right: For the Liberties and Privileges contained in it, are little more than a ſolemn Confirmation of the Rights of the Subjects, as they ſubſiſted by Virtue of the Common Law of the Realm, and the old Anglo-Saxon Conſtitution before the Conqueſt.—Whereas the Charter to the *Jews* was a *mere Gift*, and Matter of *Favour*; becauſe, as I have already ſet forth, the *Jews* were antiently conſidered as the ſole *Property or Patrimony of the Crown*: Yet when a Grant is once made, it is not revocable at Pleaſure. For as the King has then ſo far parted with, ſold, or transferred his Property: It therefore follows, that this Grant muſt hold good againſt all Claims, or Pretenſions of the Prerogative, till it is forfeited by a due Courſe of Law: otherwiſe, why was King JAMES at all to be blamed for ſeizing on the Charters of the City of *London*? And why may not every other Grant and Privilege be recalled, whenever it ſhall pleaſe the Prince, or the Miniſter, to do it? Strange, that ſuch Doctrines as theſe ſhould find any Countenance at this Time of Day!

was given FREELY and VOLUNTARILY, without Force or Compulſion; nay more, it was prior in point of Time, to the Great Charter, by the Space of about fifteen Years: So that the *Jews* themſelves, by being at that Juncture Freemen of the Realm, *Liberi Homines Regni*, and poſſeſſing certain Rights and Liberties, were included in the Terms, and made a Part of the Magna Charta, and could not be diſfranchiſed, but by a regular Courſe of Law.

II. HAVING thus therefore made it plainly to appear, That the *Jews* were once a *free People*, let us now enquire, Whether they were ever *legally and conſtitutionally* diveſted of their Liberties. Now by the 29th Chap. of Magna Charta (according to Lord COKE) or the 46th (according to RAPIN) it is expreſsly provided, That no Freeman of the Realm ſhall be baniſhed by any Stretch of Power, or Pretence of Regal Prerogative. By what Law then, or Courſe of Juſtice, came the *Jews* to be baniſhed the eighteenth of EDWARD I? Perhaps you have heard it confidently aſſerted, that they were baniſhed by the Authority of Parliament: — But this is a grand Miſtake; and no ſuch Act hath ever yet been produced.—For it is not in the Statutes at large;—It is not to be found in any of the great Authors, who treat of the Law;—Nor can thoſe who would be glad to find it among the Rolls of Parliament, diſcover it there. Nay more, the famous Statute *de Judaiſmo* made at this very Juncture (ſo often quoted in this Diſpute, and ſo little underſtood) doth not expel the *Jews* at all, but only prevents their taking Uſury. And Lord COKE is ſo far from ſaying, That they were expelled by Parliament, that he thinks, even the King did not expel them: But that the *Jews* finding themſelves deprived of their uſual Gains by Uſury, " made Petition to the King, that " a certain Day might be prefixed to them to depart

" the

" the Realm, to the End that they might have the " King's Writ to his Sheriffs for their ſafe Con- " duct." See the Second Inſtitute, Page 507.

BUT even ſuppoſing that the King had ordered them to depart the Realm, (which indeed ſeems to be the more probable Opinion) the Queſtion now is, What *legal* Right had he for ſo doing?—And if he had not, then the Charter, as ſet forth, as it is not altered by ſubſequent Cuſtoms, and the Laws of the Realm, is ſtill a *valid Charter*,—at leaſt it is valid againſt any Pretenſions of the Crown, which is all that I am now contending for.

III. BUT I will now allow even more than can poſſibly be proved, *viz.* That the *Jews* in King *Edward* the Firſt's Time, were declared by Parliament to be the King's abſolute Slaves and Vaſſals; and will add, if you pleaſe, that they were expelled the Kingdom by an Act of the whole Legiſlature now extant.—Yet what Concluſion can be drawn from hence, relative to the preſent Caſe, at this diſtance of Time, and under ſuch a *total Change* of Manners, Cuſtoms, Circumſtances, and National Policy?—Surely one would hope, that the Gentlemen on the other Side the Queſtion are not ſo ignoraut as to talk after this Rate. But if they are, it is proper to let them know, that long and uninterrupted Cuſtoms will, in many Caſes, invalidate the Penalties of the ſtrongeſt Acts of Parliament that ever were made; eſpecially if theſe Cuſtoms have an evident Tendency to promote the National Welfare and Proſperity. Nay, they are found to do ſo, even where they are plainly detrimental to the Public Welfare; of the Truth of which, take the two following as *ſufficient* and *ſad* Illuſtrations.

Firſt, The Magna Charta expreſly ſays, and ſeveral other Statutes confirm the ſame under divers

Penalties, " That there ſhall be but *one Meaſure uſed throughout all the Land*;" yet, you know, the Cuſtom is different, widely different. Neither can any Man venture to commence a Proſecution againſt the Offenders, though he hath all the Statutes of the Realm plainly on his Side.

Secondly, All Grants of Monopolies and excluſive Privileges, ſubſequent to Magna Charta, are expreſly contrary both to the Spirit and Letter of that famous Statute; and they are likewiſe repugnant to the Common Law of the Realm:—And yet, what ſhall we ſay of three Parts in four of the excluſive Privileges now ſubſiſting, all granted ſince that Period? Are they valid, or are they not? Particularly let the Caſe be put in reſpect to the *Hudſon's Bay* Charter; for this was granted by the very ſame Prince who recalled the *Jews* into *England*, I mean King *Charles* II. and is of a ſubſequent Date to many of his Letters of Denization, granted to Alien *Jewiſh* Merchants.

I SHALL now preſent you with one or two remarkable Inſtances of a better Sort, *viz.* where ſalutary Cuſtoms have prevailed over bad Laws.

AND *Firſt*, By the Statute *De Judaiſmo*, before mentioned, no Intereſt was to grow due for any Sums of Money lent by a *Jew* to a Chriſtian; and this Statute remains ſtill unrepealed, at leaſt as far as concerns *private* Property:—yet will any Man be ſo weak as to imagine, that if a *Jew* lends him Money upon Bond, the *Jew* cannot recover the *legal* Intereſt ſpecified in the Bond? If he thinks ſo, he will find himſelf egregiouſly miſtaken, and would make a very fooliſh Figure in the Courts of Juſtice.

BUT *Secondly*, We will come to Times nearer to our own, by at leaſt 200 Years, and take our Example from no leſs a Place than the City of *London*. For the Inhabitants of that great City were pleaſed

to

to bring a lamentable Bill of * Complaint (theſe are their own Words) againſt "Merchants Strangers, "and Strangers Handicrafts-men, *viz.* That by the "great Reſort of Strangers Handicrafts-men to the "ſaid City, great Portion of Corn and Victual, "grown and bred within this Realm, was daily "conſumed.

"ALSO, that Merchants Strangers did take "Warehouſes and Cellars, and therein put their "Wares and Commodities:—And the ſame Mer-"chandiſes and Wares they then ſold to all manner "of People.

"ALSO, they did buy the Commodities of the "Realm, and ſell the ſame again at their Pleaſure.

"Moreover, the ſaid Merchants, nothing ponder-"ing ne dreading the good Statutes heretofore made "againſt theſe Things, ne the Penalties therein con-"tained, did likewiſe buy, in divers Places of this "Realm, a great Quantity of Wool, and Woollen "Cloth, and other Merchandiſe of the King's Sub-"jects:—And much of the ſaid Wool they did de-"liver to Cloth-makers, thereof to make Cloth at "their Pleaſure.

"LASTLY, by their ſubtil Devices, they did ſend "and convey over the Sea, Bacon, Cheeſe, Pow-"dered Beef, Mutton, and other Commodities of "this Realm.

"By all which Means the King's liege Subjects "were ſorely impoveriſhed, miniſhed, and almoſt "utterly decayed and deſtroyed; and many of them, "for lack of Occupation, were conſtrained to live "in Idleneſs: By Occaſion whereof they became "Thieves, Beggars, Vagabonds, and People of "vicious Living; and continually fell into Theft, "Murder, and other great Crimes; and ſo were "put to Death in great Numbers by the Laws of "this Realm."

* See the Firſt Volume of the Statutes at Large, 1ſt RICH. III. Chap. 9. and the 21ſt of *Henry* VIII, together with the Decree of the Star Chamber, in conſequence of the *London* Petition.

Theſe were ſome of the Heads of divers Petitions of the City of *London*; and, to complete the Farce, the Petitioners obtained ſeveral enacting Clauſes to prevent ſuch miſchievous Foreigners from bringing the like Evils upon *Old England* for the future.

However, I am informed there is one *Franco*, not only a Foreigner, but a *Jew*; " who not pondering " ne dreading the Penalties contained in theſe *hope-* " *ful* Statutes, is guilty, in the firſt Place, of cauſ- " ing a great, nay, a prodigious Portion of Corn " and Victual, grown and bred within this Realm, " to be daily conſumed.—He alſo taketh Ware- " houſes and Cellars, and therein doth put his " Wares, even Raw Silk, Cotton Wool, *Spaniſh* " Wool, Goats Hair, and *Carmenia* Wool, Drugs, " and Dye Stuff:—And the ſaid Wares he doth ſell " to Silk Weavers, Clothiers, Dyers, and all Man- " ner of Manufacturers.—Moreover, he doth buy " great Quantities of the Commodities of this " Realm, particularly Woollen Cloth in vaſt abun- " dance, and doth ſubtilly convey the ſame over the " Sea, even to *Turky*, by Way of *Leghorn*, to the " great Diſpleaſure of the *Turky* Company: By rea- " ſon whereof, the ſaid Company be ſore impover- " iſhed, miniſhed, and brought to great Decay. " Laſtly, he hath been guilty of introducing a new " Species of Stuff Manufacture into this Kingdom; " ſo that he hath cauſed great Quantities of long " *Engliſh* Wool to be delivered to Wool-Combers " and Stuff-Makers, thereof to make Stuffs at *his* " Pleaſure: And all the ſaid Stuffs he hath wickedly " ſent to *Spain*, and yearly bringeth Home great " Quantities of Money, Cochineal, and *Spaniſh* Wool " in return."

Now, Sir, for the Comfort and Satisfaction of thoſe worthy *public-ſpirited* Gentlemen, who ſub- ſcribed the *London* Petition againſt admitting this Foreign

Foreign *Jew* to be free of the * *Turky* Company, and to import Raw Materials without paying Alien Duty:—I ſay, for their peculiar Satisfaction, it ſhall be proved upon this wicked Foreign *Jew*, that he hath been guilty of all theſe high Crimes and Miſdemeanors; ſo that they may have Recourſe to Informations and Proſecutions as ſoon as they pleaſe.—And they will then ſee which will prevail,—their obſolete, abſurd Statutes; or a long uninterrupted Cuſtom, *for near an hundred Years laſt paſt*, and ſtill growing,—and greatly to the National Advantage.

THUS far, Sir, I am willing to proceed, even upon a Suppoſition that the *Jews* were formerly expelled by the Authority of Parliament, and that ſuch an Act of the Legiſlature could now be produced;—and though I know this is not in the Power of my Antagoniſts to do, yet I grant all that they can aſk;—and let them make the moſt of the Conceſſion.

IV. WHEREFORE, let us now ſee how the Caſe ſtood at the Reſtoration.—The *Jews* having departed out of the Realm in the Year 1290, or being expelled by the Authority of Parliament, (it matters not which) made no Efforts to return, till the Protectorſhip of *Oliver Cromwell*; but this Negociation is known to have proved unſucceſsful. However, the Affair was not dropped; for the next Application was to King *Charles* himſelf, then in his Exile at *Bruges*, as appears by a † Copy of a Commiſſion, dated the 24th of *September* 1656, granted to Lieutenant

* See the former Letter, on the Privileges and Advantages granted by Naturalization.

† This Paper was found among the original Papers of Sir *Edward Nicholas*, Secretary of State to King *Charles* I, and II, and was communicated to me by a learned and worthy Friend, who hath been lately honoured with much Abuſe and Scurrility for having done Juſtice to the Life and Character of one of the beſt Men this Country produced, the Glory of our Church and Nation.

tenant General *Middleton*, to treat with the *Jews* of *Amſterdam:* "That whereas the Lieutenant General "had repreſented to his Majeſty their good Affec- "tion to him, and diſowned the Application lately "made to *Cromwell* in their Behalf by ſome Perſons "of their Nation, as abſolutely without their Con- "ſent; the King empowers the Lieutenant General "to treat with them;—That if, in that Conjunc- "ture, they ſhall aſſiſt his Majeſty, by any Money, "Arms, or Ammunition, they ſhall find, when "God ſhould reſtore him, that he would extend "that Protection to them which they could reaſon- "ably expect, and abate that Rigour of the Law "which was againſt them in his ſeveral Dominions, "and repay them."

Now it appears from this Commiſſion, that the King thought (or elſe pretended to think, in Order to make a greater Merit of the intended Favour) that the Laws of his Realms were very ſevere againſt the *Jews:* whereas in Fact, this was a great Miſtake, at leaſt as far as *England* is concerned. And the Sequel ſhewed, that after his Reſtoration he perceived his Error: For though he did every Thing to oblige the *Jews*, he repealed no Law againſt them, becauſe indeed there were none extant; but he granted ſeveral of them Letters of Denization, and encouraged their Settlement; — nay, he inſerted a *non obſtante* Clauſe in theſe Letters to free them from paying *Alien Duty*, which indeed he had no *legal* Power to do. For the City of *London* (ever watchful over Things of this Nature, as you may ſee in my hiſtorical Account of Naturalizations, and ever for *cramping* and *confining* the general Commerce of the Kingdom) had cauſed a Law to be paſſed, as far back as HENRY VII's Time, to diſable the King from diſpenſing with the Payment of theſe abſurd Duties, ſo great a Clog to all our Trade and Manufactures,

factures, such an Impediment to Navigation, and a general Discouragement to National Industry.

BUT to proceed—Thus you see, that the *Restoration of the Royal Family of the Stuarts*, is likewise to be considered as the *Restoration of the Jews* into *Great Britain*. And how did they behave on their first Arrival? Did they sculk about as Convicts returned from Transportation? Did they betray any Fear, or Apprehension, that they had transgressed the Laws of the Land in coming over? No; they appeared openly, and conversed publicly, as Merchants of the Kingdom. And no Man so much as proposed to revive those antient Courts of Judicature belonging to them in their Vassal State, when they were before in *England*:—Yet this, if ever, was the Time for doing it.

V. A FEW Years after the Restoration, an Act was passed to naturalize Persons of all Religions, and all Countries, who should employ themselves only for the Space of three Years in any Branch of the Linen, Hemp, or Tapestry Manufactures. And as there were no Restrictions, or Limitations in regard to Civil or Military Offices, *&c.* then subsisting, all Christian Foreigners, by virtue of this Act, might have attained to the highest Places and Posts in the Kingdom. This, I confess, I can by no Means approve of; because it was giving them a Power that they ought not to enjoy. For there is a wide and essential Difference between the Right of living in any Society as *peaceable* and *quiet* Subjects,—and the being made *Governors* and *Rulers* in that Society. However, even the *Jews* might be naturalized as *private* Subjects by virtue of this Act passed the 15th of CHARLES II. Chap. 15. to all Intents and Purposes;—nay, to a much higher Degree than the present Bill, against which so great a Clamour hath been raised, permits or allows them.

VI. AND

VI. AND moreover, in the Reign of Queen ANN, the Legiſlature were ſo far from believing that the *Jews* and all their Effects were the Property of the Crown, that they thought it neceſſary to make a Law to *enable* the Crown to oblige ſuch *Jews*, whoſe Children might turn Proteſtants, to allow them a reaſonable and competent Maintenance. Nay, the Lord Chancellor, (who is the firſt Servant of the Crown, and acts in the King's Name, and by his Authority) is not authorized to proceed even thus far, till a Complaint is firſt brought: and then "it "*ſhall* and may be LAWFUL for the ſaid Lord Chan- "cellor to make ſuch Order therein for the Main- "tenance of ſuch Proteſtant Child, as he ſhall think "fit:" See the Act, 1ſt of Queen ANN, Stat. I. Chap. 30.

Now, Sir, what can any Man ſay to this? Did the Legiſlature then apprehend, that the Crown had an abſolute *inherent* Right, over the Lives and Properties of the Jewiſh Subjects?—No: It is plain they did not;—otherwiſe, why did they paſs this Law? Why did they ſay, It *ſhall*, and *may* be *lawful* to do ONE THING, when it was lawful before for the Crown to do *every Thing?*

VII. AGAIN; In the tenth Year of his Majeſty King GEORGE I. an Act was paſſed to diſpenſe with the Words in the Oath of Abjuration, *upon the true Faith of a Chriſtian*, in favour of the *Jews*. It is obſervable, That this Oath can ſeldom be adminiſtered to a Native *Jew*, but upon Occaſion of his voting for a Member of Parliament, either as a *Freeholder*, or a *Burgeſs*, or on Account of his ſerving ſome *burdenſome Office*, where the Qualifications of the Sacramental Teſt is not required. "And this "diſpenſing Clauſe was paſſed after the chief Law- "yers in the Nation had given their Sentiments to "the Houſe of Commons on this Point."

VIII. To

VIII. To proceed; By an Act made the 13th of his preſent Majeſty, Chap. 3. all foreign Seamen of what Religion or Country ſoever, by ſerving two Years on board his Majeſty's Fleet, or in Merchant-Men, during the War, or in any future War; were naturalized *ipſo facto*, without taking the accuſtomary Oaths. Now as this Act extended to the *Jews* *, as well as Chriſtians, the Queſtion is, What did the Legiſlature mean by naturalizing theſe foreign *Jews?* Why truly, if ſome Gentlemen are now to be believed, they meant to put them in the ſame Condition, with the natural-born *Jews*; that is, after ſerving this Kingdom for the Space of two Years, at the Riſque of their Lives abroad, they were then to be rewarded on their Arrival, with the mighty Privilege, and moſt deſirable Bleſſing of —— being made Slaves at Home!

IX. ONCE more; There was another Law made the ſame Seſſions, whereby ſuch Perſons as would reſide, or had reſided in any of his Majeſty's Colonies, for the Space of ſeven Years, ſhould afterwards receive the Benefit of Naturalization: And the Preamble takes Notice, among other Things, that the *Lenity* of our *Government*, the *Benefit* of our *Laws*, and the *Security* of our *Property*, might induce Foreigners to ſettle in our Plantations; which if they did, or *had done* for the Space of ſeven Years, ſuch a Reſidence ſhould entitle them "to be deemed, "(theſe are the Words of the Statute) adjudged and

 "taken

* Sir JOHN BARNARD, to his Honour be it ſpoken, was the Author and Father of this public-ſpirited Bill for naturalizing Foreigners of all Countries, and all Religions, without obliging them to take any ſort of Teſt *Civil* or *Religious*. For he moved for bringing in ſuch a Bill, he was firſt named in the Committee, and carried it to the Houſe of Lords for their Concurrence. And yet with regard to the Naturalization of *Jews*, who might have taken the Benefit of this Act, the Conſiderations ariſing from Religion and Conſcience, the Nature of Prophecies, the Tenor of Chriſtianity, and the *ſuppoſed* Command not to incorporate with Infidels and Blaſphemers, were then as cogent as now.

" taken to be his Majesty's natural-born Subjects of " this Kingdom, to all Intents, Constructions, and " Purposes, (excepting the usual Clause of Civil " and Military Offices, *&c.*) as if they and every of " them had been, and were born within this King- " dom."

Now till the World was blessed with some late ingenious and learned Commentaries on our Laws, and Constitution, we were all so far mistaken, as to imagine, that this Law was really of some Advantage to the Foreign *Jews:* For every Merchant of any Consequence in the Kingdom, and every junior Clerk in the Custom-house, knew full well, that Certificates were frequently sent over from the Colonies, to exempt such and such *Jews*, as had complied with the Terms of the Act, from paying Alien Duty; and these *Jews* were thought to be in such a State of Liberty and Freedom, that they might purchase Lands of Inheritance either in the Colonies, or in *Great Britain*, as they were inclined. But, Thanks to these Gentlemen, we are now grown wiser, and can tell, That the *Naturalizing* Foreign *Jews* means the *Enslaving of them*; and that the Words in the Act, *As if they and every of them had been born within this Kingdom*, signifies, * " There is " no Distinction between *Jews* born within, or " without the King's Dominions; for they are both " equally the Property of the Crown." O happy Explanation! What a Pity is it, that these eminent Lawyers do not go on with their enlightening Commentaries, and give us a Specimen of their Talents on the *Magna Charta*, and the Bill of Rights! But since we are now upon the Scheme of making Commentaries, and giving Explanations, I will endeavour to *comment* myself upon the Actions and Behaviour of certain Gentlemen, that by their Fruits you may know them.—In the Year 1740, when the above

* See a Speech in the *London* Magazine for *July*, 1753, Page 318: And the Answer to the *Considerations*, &c. Page 11 and 12.

above Act was paſſed in Favour of the *Jews* reſiding in our Colonies, ſome of theſe *moſt Chriſtian Gentlemen* were then Members of the Houſe of Commons —— Yet at that Juncture not a Word was ſaid, either by them or others, that this Law was repugnant to the Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith or Doctrine, (though an Alteration was expreſsly made in the Oath of Abjuration, for accommodating it to the Principles of the *Jews*, the Sacramental Teſt was diſpenſed with; — and an Alteration made in it in favour of Proteſtant Diſſenters; yet for all this) there was not any Objection ſtarted on the Score of Religion, no Dangers, no impending Judgments were denounced, or apprehended :—Whereas, methinks, if Religion is at all concerned, it is as much concerned to prevent the *Jews* from ſettling among our Fellow Chriſtians, and Fellow Subjects in *America*, as in *England*; and if the Naturalizing of the *Jews* is the calling them together, inſtead of keeping them a *diſperſed People*, why were they called together to ſettle in *Jamaica*, or in any of our Colonies; Places that can ſerve them more ſafely than *Great Britain*, for a general Rendezvous, and where they can with the greater Eaſe, throw off the Yoke, and ſet up for themſelves? But, perhaps, you will ſay, Theſe Gentlemen have two different Goſpels, one for *America*, and another for *Old England:* And indeed thus much we ſhall allow, That when the Church, or Religion, Chriſtianity, or the Prophecies, cannot be made a Watch-Word to rouſe the Populace, then the holy Zeal, the Piety, and Chriſtianity of theſe Gentlemen, and all their Confederates, lie dormant likewiſe.

MOREOVER, if the Naturalizing of one or two Foreign *Jews* is ſo bad, ſo irreligious, nay, ſo antichriſtian a Meaſure, what muſt the general Permiſſion be, which the *whole Hebrew* Nation hath to trade in the Funds, and to deal in our Stocks? For this is literally a calling or collecting them together,

becauſe the Funds are the very Things which the *Jews* principally trade in; and there are no Funds in other Countries ſo large and ſecure, with Transfers ſo eaſy, ſafe, and expeditious, as our own: Whereas they can purchaſe Lands in almoſt any Country. —And yet not a Word was ſaid, no Petitions, no Inſtructions, were ever ſent from Town or Country to oppoſe this diabolical and antichriſtian Practice: ſo that the *Jews* are *incorporated* by *Law* with our *Chriſtian* Stockholders, and have at this Day at leaſt 2000000*l.* in Government Securities. How then ſhall we account for theſe Things? There is but one Way, and that is the true one, *viz.* That as the Populace are ignorant of the Nature of Stocks, and have no Property in the Funds, it would anſwer no Ends to ſet up a Cry, *No Jew Stockholder!* which none would follow, or echo back.

HOWEVER, one Thing has been broached by the Perſons concerned in raiſing the preſent Clamours, which may, in its Application, be of great Uſe to this Kingdom; it is the ample Detail they have given of the exceſſive Uſury and monſtrous Extortion of the *Jews* in former Times: For our Princes only uſed them as *Spunges*, to ſuck up the Treaſure of the Nation; and then, when they had a Mind to *ſqueeze them dry*, they let looſe the popular Odium and Fury upon them. This is the true State of the Caſe, and ſuch was the Origin of all their Sufferings. They were firſt ſupported with an high Hand, in order to get *rich*; and afterwards, their very Riches were made the Cauſe of Complaint, and became their Ruin and Deſtruction. Thus they fell unpitied; and the People rejoiced at the *illegal* Reſumption of their Rights, Liberties, and Privileges, inſtead of endeavouring to cure the Origin of the Evil, and of entering into a new and better Syſtem of National Police, in order to prevent the like Grievances for the future. For it muſt be obſerved, that both Church and State had in thoſe Times enacted ſeveral

ral * fooliſh abſurd Laws, that no Chriſtian ſhould lend Money upon Intereſt, groſsly miſtaking the Meaning of the Scriptures on that Head. The neceſſary Conſequence of which was, that the *Jews* had the Monopoly of Money in their own Hands, and could make a Prey of the Kingdom at their Pleaſure, ☞ *juſt as our excluſive Companies do now.* But ſurely the great Champions for theſe Excluſions will, it is to be hoped, from henceforwards, be leſs zealous in their Defence; they will act a more conſiſtent Part, than to condemn the *Jews* for their Extortions, and yet juſtify the Chriſtians for the like Practice. For, let me aſk, did the *Jews* ever receive a greater Profit than the *Hudſon's Bay* Company have done? Did they exact as much? No. It is notorious, they did not exact a *fourth Part* as much as this Company have done on ſeveral Articles; and yet it is equally certain, that the Riſque of the *Jews*, of loſing both Capital and Intereſt, during the Reigns of our *Johns*, *Henries*, *Edwards*, &c. and

* THE great View of the divinely inſpired Legiſlator, MOSES, ſeems to have been, to turn the Principle of Self-Love into ſuch a Channel, *that it ſhould always operate for the Public Good.* And indeed, this ought to be the ſole Aim of every Government, if either good Morals, or National Proſperity, are expected. Now MOSES, in ſettling the Property of the Land of *Canaan*, ſeems to have kept the happy Medium between an abſolute *Agrarian* Law,—and an unlimited Monopoly of Land; and therefore he allowed the *Rich* and the *Induſtrious* to purchaſe from the *Poor* or the *Idle* for the Space of 49 Years, and no longer; the Conſequence of which was, that *perſonal* Induſtry received a ſufficient Encouragement, at the ſame Time that an effectual Guard was placed againſt the Lazineſs and Luxury of an *over-grown* Fortune. But this excellent Scheme would ſtill have been eluded, had the *Iſraelites* been permitted to lend Money to each other upon Intereſt; becauſe it would have proved the ſame Thing in Fact, whether the paternal Eſtate was *bought for ever*, or *mortgaged for ever.* He therefore ordained, that they ſhould not take Uſury, or Intereſt, one of another. This is the true Reaſon for that remarkable Prohibition. But the Clergy and Laity of the Times we are now ſpeaking of, as little underſtood it, as the Author of *The Anſwer to the Conſiderations* underſtands the *plaineſt Text* in the New Teſtament. See his Quotations from Scripture, Pages 14, 15, 16, and 17, which are not to be equalled, except perhaps by GEORGE FOX.

and the Expences they were continually at, to *buy* the Favour and Protection of the Crown, were immenſely great.—In ſhort, any Merchant at this Day will enſure a Ship, both to and from *Hudſon*'s *Bay*, at a much leſs Premium, than he will a Sum of Money, lent to ſome great Lord or Caſtellan of *Poland*. Now, what the Caſtellans of *Poland* are at preſent, our Barons were formerly; and it appears, both from our Statute Books, and from other Records, that they would ſcarce ever pay their Debts, till they were obliged by Dint of Arms; which, by the Bye, may ſerve as another Reaſon, why the *Jews* were formerly under the immediate Protection of the Crown. For when any Sums were due to them, it was impoſſible for them to get Redreſs, without Military Aſſiſtance; and therefore the King demanded the Debt as his own Property. *Quod ſi quiſquam detinuerit eis Pecuniam ſuam, perquirat Rex, tanquam ſuum Proprium.* And as to Foreign Merchants and Traders, they made the ſame heavy Complaints with the *Jews*, about the Badneſs of their Pay-maſters: But they, eſpecially the *Italians*, could have Recourſe to a powerful Advocate, which the *Jews* could not; I mean the Pope. For there are many Letters in *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, exhorting the good People of *England* to pay their Debts; and one in particular, Vol. I. Page 670, wherein Complaint is made to his Holineſs againſt certain Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Chapters, Conventions, Communities, Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, Counteſſes, Barons, Knights, Burgeſſes, and other Perſons of the Clergy and Laity of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for receiving divers Sums of Money, and Quantities of Corn, Wine, Wool, and other Merchandize; yet when the Time of Payment came, they refuſed to make any Satisfaction. Therefore he orders the Archdeacon of *London*, if they refuſed to obey this Summons, to excommunicate their Perſons, and put their Eſtates and Territories under an Interdict;

Interdict; using the accuſtomary Forms of tolling the Bells and lighting Candles.

Theſe were the Times of glorious *Old England:* But what are theſe Times to us? And doth any Man now make a Complaint againſt the *Jews* for taking an higher Intereſt than their Neighbours?—No;—The Complaint, if at all, is on the contrary Side; *viz.* that by pouring in ſuch vaſt Sums of Money from Abroad, they have lowered the National Intereſt—A Crime, which every Man who loves his Country will readily forgive.

BUT it ſeems, though we have not theſe Complaints, we muſt and *will* have ſome others. For certain Gentlemen, who have penned Addreſſes in News-Papers, Inſtructions to Members of Parliament, Petitions, and the like, are pleaſed to make very free with the Judgments and Viſitations of Almighty God on this Occaſion. They ſcruple not loudly to complain, that we ſhall draw down the fierceſt of the divine Wrath and Diſpleaſure on this Nation for admitting the *Jews* to reſide and trade, (or, as they would rather have it, to *incorporate*) among us. For it is pretended, that by ſo doing, we become Partakers with them in their Impieties, and ſhall have the ſame Sentence paſſed and executed upon ourſelves, of becoming a Reproach in the Earth, a fugitive and vagabond People.

Now if all theſe Evils are to ariſe from granting a Permiſſion to the *Jews* to reſide in this Country, while they continue *quiet* and *peaceable* Subjects, theſe Gentlemen ought to be reminded, that this is a Permiſſion which did always ſubſiſt by Law, for the *Jews* were never legally expelled. They ſhould likewiſe recollect, that the *Reſtoration of the Royal Family of the Stuarts* &c. was attended with the *Return of the* Jews *into* Great Britain; *and that Lord Chancellor* CLARENDON *granted to many of them Letters of Denization under the Great Seal.* Now as this is near

near an hundred Years ago, let me ask, What remarkable Judgments have fallen upon these Kingdoms, since that famous Occurrence. Have we had more of the three great Scourges of Heaven, the Sword, Famine, and Pestilence, than in former Times? Are there more Calamities, more Distresses, more bad Seasons, (☞ not forgetting the remarkable Spring, Summer, and Autumn of the Year 1753, when the *Jew* Bill was passed) than commonly used to be? Nay, let those Gentlemen produce, if they can, any Period in the History of this Country, when there have been so few; or when there was more Wealth, Health and Plenty, Happiness and National Prosperity.

MOREOVER, as to *Spain* and *Portugal*, what signal and distinguishing Blessings hath Heaven conferred upon the Inhabitants of those Countries, for their Zeal and Piety in extirpating this accursed Race? For they indeed have *literally* no Fellowship or Concord with the *Jews:* They do not bid them *God speed*; but send them, as they imagine, flaming to the Devil: And yet wherein doth it appear, that they are become the Darlings and Favourites of Heaven by these Means? In short, Sir, one is *tired* with confuting these Absurdities; and it is really shocking and greatly offensive to all sincere Christians, to see with what *Boldness* and *Blasphemy* these Men have perverted the Language of Holy Scripture, without Regard to Circumstances or Context, and tortured its Meaning for the vile Purposes of supporting a *sinking* Faction against the next general Election.

BUT, above all, since these Gentlemen are so sure that this Nation will be *cursed* for Naturalizing the *Jews*, why must these Curses so particularly attend the Purchasing of a Piece of Land, ☞ Merchandizing without paying Alien Duty, and obtaining the Freedom of the *Turky* Company? For it is now confessed

confeſſed on all Hands, that the Powers of Naturalization extend no farther; and ſurely there are many *National Sins and Vices* full as *black* as any of theſe.—Therefore the Public has a Right to call upon theſe Gentlemen, to ſhew what PARTICULAR INIQUITY is there in *theſe Things*, above any others, thus to draw down the hotteſt Diſpleaſure of Almighty God?—Indeed, if certain Heads of Faction, if Bigots, if Monopoliſts had the Diſpoſal of the Thunderbolts of Heaven, I ſhould not wonder that they were *levelled* at every Man who was truly and rationally a Chriſtian, a Friend to his Country, and uſeful to Society: But,—why they ſhould think that the Divine Being is like themſelves, that his Thoughts are as their Thoughts, his Ways as their Ways,—this remains yet to be explained.

The firſt *Chriſtian Emperors* were of very different Sentiments from our modern *Zealots*; for they were not apprehenſive that their tolerating the *Jews*, and granting them even much greater Privileges than they *can* receive in *England*, would be attended with any fatal Effects of Divine Vengeance. Nay, the Fathers of the Primitive Church expreſſed themſelves on ſuch Occaſions, as if they thought it for the Honour of Religion, and the Advancement of Chriſtianity, that the *Jews* ſhould be kindly and benevolently treated. "TANTUM ſcilicet (ſaith *Grotius*, "*De Imperio Summarum Poteſtatum, circa Sacra*, Cap. "XV.) Imperatores Chriſtiani *Judæis* largiti ſunt "ob primordiam Veritatis, & ſpem futuræ Con-"verſionis; ut antiqui Patres de eiſdem *loqui amant*." That is, "So great Privileges did the Chriſtian Em-"perors beſtow upon the *Jews*, *by reaſon that the* "*true Religion began firſt among them, and in hopes of* "*their future Converſion*; as the ancient Fathers *love* "*to ſpeak* of theſe People."

INDEED thus much is certain, that kind Uſage is the only *reaſonable* and *juſtifiable* Way of making

Converts: Nay, if it was indifferent which Courſe was taken, Experience hath fully proved, that Perſecution and ill Treatment, (and ſurely the propoſing to make People *Slaves* is ſome of the worſt of Treatment) do not work any Conviction upon the *Jews*; therefore, if the natural Branches are ever to be graſted again into their own Olive Tree, as the Scripture aſſures us they ſhall be,—and if the Diſperſed among the *Gentiles* are to be brought Home to the Chriſtian Fold, ſo that there may be one Flock under one Shepherd, —How is this to be effected? By Chriſtian, or Antichriſtian Meaſures? Surely one would think, it is impoſſible to make a Doubt of ſuch a Matter. Beſides, ſince the general Converſion of the *Jewiſh* Nation muſt begin *ſomewhere*, and none can tell *how ſoon*, why ſhould we endeavour to prevent its *Beginning* here? Why ſhould the Members of the Church of *England*, *the Glory of the Reformation*, be the *laſt* to bring back the *ancient People of God?*—It is really true, that the *Jews* are prejudiced, and juſtly prejudiced againſt the Church of *Rome*, becauſe of its manifold Idolatry and *perſecuting* Spirit; but if they ſaw the Chriſtian Religion *truly* profeſſed and *conſcientiouſly* practiſed in a *Proteſtant* Country, there might be a well-grounded Hope, that they would then acknowledge the true Meſſiah, who is *already come*, *God*, *bleſſed for ever*, and not look for another.

LET me add likewiſe, that this is the propereſt Way for *Us Chriſtians* to prove the *Orthodoxy* of our own Faith, and the *Purity* of our Morals; and not to go about to propoſe Religious Tenets, however ſound and orthodox, as the *Civil Tenure*, whereby a Man is to hold his Life and Fortune. For this, I am ſure, is neither Law nor Goſpel;—nor was ever heard of till the preſent Juncture. For when an *Engliſh*-born Subject takes to his Eſtate, or makes a Purchaſe, doth he make any Declaration of his Faith, ſign any Articles of Religion, or take any Teſt what-

whatever? No;—He doth not; nor is it ever enquired into, whether he is of *any*, or *what* Religion upon ſuch Occaſions. As to the Affair of Offices, *Religious*, *Civil*, or *Military*, they are not Eſtates, they are not of *private* Concern, but Matters of *Truſt*, and of a *public* Nature, and require ſuch and ſuch *Qualifications* in thoſe who are to *execute* them.

INDEED, if any Perſons, even in a *private* Station, ſhall maintain, and broach ſuch Opinions as are notoriouſly deſtructive of the Peace of Civil Society, and ſubverſive of the Government under which they live, they may be puniſhed in their Perſons or Eſtates, according as the Legiſlature ſhall apprehend the Degree of Danger. Pleaſe to obſerve that I am wholly ſpeaking of Civil Cenſures, not *Eccleſiaſtical:* and am conſidering the preſent Subject merely in a *Civil View.* Therefore, I ſay, it is for this Reaſon only, that the *Roman* Catholics in *Great Britain*, are under the Diſcouragement of a double Tax. They are not regarded as a *Sect in Religion*, but a *Faction* in the *State*, whoſe Intereſt and Inclination it apparently is, to ſupport a *Pretender* to his Majeſty's Crown. And whenever they can give ſuch Security for their Civil *Behaviour*, as is agreeable to the Nature of our Conſtitution to admit of, I make no Doubt but they ſhall be put on the common Footing with other Subjects:—But if they ſhould not, I ſhall, for my own Part, make no Scruple to ſay, that they are hardly, and unjuſtly dealt with.

BUT all this is nothing to the Caſe now before us; for if the *Jews* had even a temporal Meſſiah now in View, their Principles will not admit them to propoſe to ſet him up *here:* and the King ſuſpects no Danger of any Rival of that ſort to his Throne: nor do the Legiſlature believe at all, that this imaginary Meſſiah will ever appear to give them any Diſturbance. How then can the Caſe of the Papiſts being *doubly taxed* be brought into this Controverſy? Why truly

truly it serves to make a *Noise* and a *Flourish*;—yet even the Papists pay no Duty so absurd as the Alien Duty. But to proceed:—I cannot apprehend, what the Gentlemen who have raised these Clamours, can propose to themselves by making Orthodoxy the UNIVERSAL TENURE of Liberty and Property. For sure I am, that many of those who have appeared so strenuous in this Controversy, are sadly defective themselves in many *essential* Points of the Christian Faith, and Christian Practice. And though they appear at present as the *supposed Champions* for the Christian Religion, they would not choose to have their own Principles and Actions examined into on the present Occasion.

THUS, Sir, I have ventured to give you my Sentiments with that Impartiality which flows from the Heart of him, who has only Truth for his Object. I dedicate myself to no Party nor Faction, am no Apologist for what is *bad* either in *Jew* or *Christian*, and speak those *bold Truths*, which are grating to *designing Men* of all Parties. This Impartiality, my very Enemies, (if I have given Cause to any to be such) must allow and acknowledge.

As to the personal Abuse I have met with, or may meet with, 'tis my Disposition as well as my Duty to forgive it, and pray to GOD to forgive the Authors of it. I would only offer one Request to my severest Adversary, that before he condemns me, he would *cooly* read that divine Composition, Saint *Paul*'s Epistle to the *Romans*, and then ask his Conscience, whether he is not really convinced, that this great Apostle, this *free-born Roman*, would have given his Suffrage, had he been a Member of the *British* Legislature,—FOR the late Bill:—I draw no Inferences, but remain, Sir,

Your most Humble Servant,

BRISTOL,
Nov. 13, 1753.

Josiah Tucker.

AN IMPARTIAL

INQUIRY

INTO THE

BENEFITS and DAMAGES

Ariſing to the NATION from the preſent very great Uſe of *Low-priced*

SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS:

WITH

Proper ESTIMATES thereupon, and ſome Conſiderations humbly offered for preventing the Introduction of Foreign Spirits not paying the Duties.

By *J. T.* of *Briſtol.*

Author of the *Brief Eſſay on the Advantages and Diſadvantages which reſpectively attend* France *and* Great Britain, *with regard to Trade.*

LONDON:

Printed for T. TRYE, near *Gray's-Inn Gate, Holborn.* 1751.

[Price Six-Pence.]

To the Right Honourable

THE

EARL of *HALIFAX*,

First Lord Commissioner

For *Trade* and *Plantations*, &c.

MY LORD,

ANY Design, wherein the Industry, the Manufactures, the Morals, and Lives of the People of *England* are deeply concerned, could not possibly be offered to a more proper Person than His Majesty's First Lord Commissioner for Trade, &c.

BUT the great Abilities, the Integrity, the Application to Business,

the Zeal for the Welfare and Proſperity of his Country, which make His Majeſty's Choice of that Great Officer ſo agreeable to the whole Kingdom, would render it highly abſurd, not to ſubmit the following Pages to your Lordſhip's favourable Peruſal.

I SHOULD be juſtly afraid of the Penetration of ſo able a Judge, were I not as fully convinced of the great Candor with which he always receives any well intended Attempt.

I HAVE the Honour to be, with the utmoſt Reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Obedient,

and devoted Humble Servant,

J. T.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I THINK it incumbent to advertiſe the candid Reader, that he is not to expect in this Eſſay a full and pathetical Deſcription of the Miſeries and deſtructive Conſequences occaſioned by Spirituous Liquors. *The many Tracts and Diſcourſes already publiſhed, and particularly the laſt, by the Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter, *render any ſuch Attempt of mine entirely unneceſſary. The Author's only View, therefore, is to preſent the impartial Reader, with a Series of plain Anſwers to the ſeveral Objections that may be ſtarted, and to ſet forth ſuch Facts as ſeem neceſſary to be inſiſted on, in order to remove every Prejudice and Obſtacle, which the partial Repreſentations of private Intereſt will attempt to raiſe.*

AN IMPARTIAL

INQUIRY

INTO THE

Benefits and Damages ariſing to the Nation from the preſent very great Uſe of *Low-priced* SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS, *&c.*

THE pernicious Effects of Spirituous Liquors, and the exceſſive Attachment of the Common People to them, are to be taken for granted in the preſent Caſe. But if any one ſhould doubt the Truth of the Poſition, he may too eaſily obtain the moſt indiſputable Proof, *viz.* DAILY OCULAR DEMONSTRATION. He may likewiſe obſerve, that the Evil is increaſing every Day; making its way from the Metropolis into the Country Towns, and even Villages, and particularly in-

 feſting

feſting Places of Manufactures. So that if any Regard is due to Virtue and Religion, to the Souls and Bodies of Men, to the Good of our Country, the Health, Welfare, and Being of Poſterity, as well as to our own, it is high time to endeavour to put an *effectual* Stop to this raging, and in ſome reſpects even worſe than peſtilential Infection. The Steps that have been already taken by the worthy Magiſtrates of the chief City of the Kingdom, afford the moſt pleaſing Hopes, that the Legiſlature likewiſe will take due Cognizance of ſo important an Affair, and in their great Wiſdom, apply a Remedy equal to the Diſeaſe. In the mean time, a ſmall Inſight into the Views of Mankind, will ſuggeſt, that thoſe Perſons, whoſe immediate Intereſt, unhappily for the Publick, leads them to wiſh for the Continuance of the Evil, will uſe every Effort to prevent, or invalidate ſo ſalutary a Deſign. It may not therefore be an unſeaſonable Attempt at this Juncture to obviate ſuch Objections, and to remove thoſe Difficulties, which are, or may be pretended, to obſtruct the carrying this laudable Purſuit into juſt Execution. Let us therefore conſider the moſt plauſible Objections that can be offered.

Objection I. If the Uſe of Gin and *Engliſh* Spirits is reſtrained or diſcouraged, it will cauſe a very conſiderable Deficiency in the *Revenue*.

1, *Anſwer*. The Deficiency in the Revenue, will be in a great Meaſure made up by a larger Conſumption

ſumption of Malt, Ale and Hops. The Trial hath been already made, * as appears below; ſo that we may ſpeak in the preſent Caſe with the Certainty of Experience.

Moreover, as Spirituous Liquors deſtroy the People, the preventing that Deſtruction is adding to their Numbers. And an Addition of People to a trading Country, is an Addition to the Wealth of the Nation, and conſequently to the Revenue of the Government: Every Tax, Cuſtom, Duty, and Exciſe producing ſo much the more, as the Number of the Conſumers encreaſes. Conſequently, the Loſs one way muſt in a ſhort Time be more than compenſated by the Gains in the other.

It is indeed impoſſible to conceive it to be the true Intereſt of any Government to grant a gene-

* In the Year 1737, being the Year after the Act paſt for prohibiting the Selling of Spirituous Liquors in leſs Quantities than two Gallons, and before the Diſtillers and their Agents had found out ſo many Means to evade it, there was a very large Encreaſe of the Revenue on Malt and Ale, compared with the former Year, which very near made up the Deficiency of the Exciſe on Spirituous Liquors, as will appear by the following Account, *viz.*

1736	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
The Groſs Produce of the Exciſe on Beer, Ale, *&c.*	1107688	6	6
Ditto on Malt,	625765	15	4¾
Ditto on low Wines and Britiſh Spirits,	149736	7	5
	1883190	9	3¾
1737			
The Groſs Produce of the Exciſe on Beer, Ale, *&c.*	1140625	7	10¾
Ditto on Malt,	650723	17	11½
Ditto on low Wines and Britiſh Spirits,	88554	9	0¾
	1879903	14	10¾

ral Licence to the Subjects to deſtroy one another. The Principles of ſound Policy, to ſay nothing of any *higher* Motive, would ſuggeſt, that the Deficiencies in the Revenue occaſioned by the Numbers ſo † deſtroyed, muſt beyond Compariſon be greater than the Gains ariſing from the Sale of Licences for deſtroying them.

2. *Anſwer.* If there ſhould be an immediate Deficiency for a ſhort Time; or if the Encreaſe on one Branch of the Revenue cannot be ſo commodiouſly transferred, as to make up for the Loſs ſuſtained in another, on Account of their ſeveral diſtinct Appropriations, there is no Doubt to be made, but the Sagacity and Prudence of the Legiſlature will eaſily find out proper Equivalents.

And if a private Member of Society may be allowed to offer his Sentiments on ſuch an Occaſion, he would propoſe, with due Submiſſion to the Publick Judgement, ſuch Taxes for Equivalents, as may not only bring in the neceſſary Supplies, but alſo have a natural Tendency to promote the general good Ends of Commerce, and the Suppreſſion of Vice. Among which Number he humbly conceives the two following, *viz.* A Tax upon all Publick Places of Diverſion, by means of Stamp Tickets;—and a Tax upon Batchelors. As to the former, Mr *Fielding* hath ſo copiouſly ſet forth the evil Conſequences attending the making Diverſions cheap for People in common and middling Life,

† *Vide* Poſtſcript to the Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*'s late Dedication to the Lord Mayor, *&c.*

Life, that I ſhall beg Leave to refer for fuller Information to his very ſeaſonable and judicious Treatiſe concerning the *Cauſes of the late Encreaſe of Robberies, &c.* And with reſpect to the latter, it may be affirmed with the utmoſt Truth, that never antient *Rome*, in the Time of *Julius Cæſar*, nor any State, wanted a *Lex Maritalis* more than ours at this preſent. And thoſe, who are diſpoſed to ſee the extenſive ill Effects of this growing Evil of Celibacy on the Morals of both Sexes, and on the Commerce and Proſperity of the Nation, may pleaſe to conſult the *Brief Eſſay on Trade*, Page 124, Printed for T. Trye, *Holborn*.

3. *Anſwer*. The preſent Laws concerning *Britiſh* Spirits, are found by Experience to be not only ruinous to the general Revenue in their Conſequences, but to have opened a Door for great Evaſions in regard to the Malt Tax. The Spirits diſtilled from Corn are beyond Compariſon more in Quantity, than thoſe which are extracted from all other Materials. All this Corn ought in Reaſon to pay the Malt Duty: Yet the Diſtillers find Means, in a great Meaſure, to evade paying it: As they uſe no greater Quantity of Malt, than is neceſſary to begin and ſupport the Fermentation among the unmalted Corn. Whereas the Brewer makes uſe of none but malted Corn. Thus the Maltſter and Brewer are both Sufferers by this Favour permitted to the Diſtiller; who conſequently pays conſiderably leſs Duty in making a Liquor infinitely prejudicial, than is paid by the

others for making one, that is in itſelf very wholeſome.

4. *Anſwer.* Though an high additional Duty on any Commodity hath a natural Tendency to diminiſh the Conſumption, it doth not follow, that it will leſſen the Revenue, in any conſiderable Degree; becauſe the Addition in one reſpect may make up for the Deficiency in the other. If it ſhould be judged becoming the Wiſdom of Parliament to oblige the Diſtillers to pay the Malt Duty for all the Corn they uſe,—to lay a new Tax of 6*d.* ℔ Gallon at the Still Head,—to compel the Retailers to take Annual Licences of 5*l.* each; and alſo to ſubject both Retailers and Compounders to the Laws of Exciſe, at 6*d.* ℔ Gallon, or more, if thought neceſſary: Perhaps indeed the Quantity conſumed would be diminiſhed one half, or more, but the Amount of the Revenue would be much the ſame: And in that Caſe, the Produce only on 2000000 of Gallons would be nearly equal to the preſent Income, on three times the Quantity. It appears by the annual Accounts of the general Exciſe on low Wines, and Britiſh Spirits, from the Year 1736 to the Year 1750, that the ſeveral Laws, which their reſpective Preambles ſet forth, as *deſigned to check* the exceſſive Uſe of Spirituous Liquors, have had no manner of Effect. The additional Duties laid on from time to time, have indeed encreaſed the Revenue, but were not ſufficiently heavy to diſcourage the Vice. The groſs Produce of Spirits for the Year 1750, was 6613011 Gallons: But the groſs Produce of the Exciſe, both

both on low Wines and Spirits, was only 334874*l.* 3*s.* 10½*d.* which ſcarce amounts to more than 1*s.* ℔ Gallon, even though the Duties on low Wines are thrown into the Account. Now what Diſcouragement can be expected from ſo ſmall a Duty?—Eſpecially if we conſider, that the Diſtillers could afford to ſink their former Profits vaſtly, and yet remain great Gainers; for the Price of Spirits has been raiſed within a few Years from nineteen and twenty to 28*l.* ℔ Tun, notwithſtanding they become more expert every Year in the Arts of their Profeſſion, by Compendiums of Labour, Compoundings of Liquors, Cleaning * of the Spirit, and the like. Whereas were new Duties laid on, in ſome Form or other that would certainly diſcourage the Conſumption, the Increaſe by this Duty would yet very probably cauſe no Loſs to the Revenue,—perhaps an Addition.

Objection II. The Paſſing a Law, which muſt be ruinous to the Perſons engaged in the *Britiſh* Diſtilleries, is a kind of Law *ex poſt facto*, to deprive People of their Subſiſtance.

1. *Anſwer.* The Paſſing ſuch a Law as here intended, can in no Senſe be called a Law *ex poſt*

* *Cleaning of the Spirit.*] Note, There have been already, and doubtleſs will be many more Frauds and Evaſions practiſed under this Article, unleſs the Legiſlature particularly interpoſes. Under the Notion of cleaning the Spirit, Pepper, Ginger, and other fiery Ingredients are put into the Still; which make the Spirit *hot* to the *Palate*, and *burning* to the *Stomach*, though mixt with Water, and under Proof as to paying the Duty.

facto: Becauſe the Legiſlature have always looked upon the Uſe of Spirituous Liquors, as pernicious and deſtructive; and never ſo much as intimated, that there ſhould be no heavier Duties, and farther Reſtraints, laid upon them. On the contrary, there were expreſs Declarations made in Parliament, when the laſt Bill was paſt, by the very Members that promoted it, that they would readily concur in laying a greater Duty on the Still-Head, if they found by Experience, that the aforeſaid Bill did not prove a ſufficient Reſtraint. Woful Experience hath now evinced this to be the Caſe beyond Diſpute. Therefore the Diſtillers can have no ſhadow of a Pretence for urging ſuch a Plea.

2. *Anſwer.* If ſuch a Bill ſhould paſs, Proviſion will undoubtedly be made, as in the Year 1736, that Diſtillers may ſet up any other lawful Trade. And as there will be greater Demands in the Malting, and the Brewery Way, they may turn their Stock and Utenſils to thoſe Branches, which come the neareſt to their former Profeſſion.

3. *Anſwer.* If neither of the two former Anſwers ſhould obviate every Difficulty, and redreſs every Hardſhip, Who ought to be the Sufferers? Is it reaſonable, that a very great Part of the Common People of *Great Britain* ſhould be permitted, and indeed *encouraged* to go on in the Practice of a Vice, which enfeebles and enervates them and their Deſcendants, effaces all Sentiments

of

of Religion, ſhortens their Lives, and renders them a Burden to themſelves, their Families, and the Publick? — or, that a few particular Perſons ſhould ſuffer *ſome* Inconveniencies?—For the Diſtillery may ſtill continue as far as publick Utility will allow; and, as appears by the Preambles to ſeveral Acts of Parliament, the Legiſlature did not deſign it ſhould extend farther.

Objection III. The paſſing ſuch a Law would prevent the Conſumption of great Quantities of Corn, particularly of damaged Corn: and therefore would be highly injurious to the Farmer, the Gentleman, and the Landed Intereſt.

1. *Anſwer.* The * paſſing ſuch a Law would greatly encreaſe the Conſumption of Bread, conſequently of Corn: — It would alſo encreaſe the Conſumption of Malt, Hops, Butter, Cheeſe, Milk, Garden Stuff, Fleſh, Wool, and every other Produce of Land. It would be a Means of leſſening the Poor's Tax, encreaſing the Numbers of People, promoting Trade and Induſtry;—and conſequently, in every View, highly beneficial to the Farmer, the Gentleman, and the Landed Intereſt.

2. *Anſwer.* If a Bill ſhould paſs to diſcourage the exceſſive Drinking of Spirituous Liquors, the Quantity of Corn which would thereby be prevented from being uſed in the Diſtilleries, is not near

* See the *Appendix*, containing the Eſtimates and Obſervations on them, for a further Proof and Illuſtration of what is advanced in theſe Anſwers.

near ſo great as one might be apt to ſuppoſe from the *mighty Streſs* which is laid upon this Article.

And *firſt*, as to *damaged* Corn. By the pompous Accounts which have been ſpread abroad, one would imagine the Diſtillers conſume all the damaged Corn in the Kingdom. Whereas of late Years they have ſcarce conſumed any. This is a Fact which hath been proved before a Committee of the Honourable Houſe of Commons in the Year 1745, by Perſons of undoubted Credit and Veracity; and may ſo eaſily be proved again, both by the Dealers in Corn, and by thoſe who have ſeen the Magazines of Diſtillers, and obſerved the Corn put into their Tuns, that, I am perſuaded, they will hardly attempt to contradict it. And if we ſuppoſe the Diſtillers to underſtand their own Intereſt, which no one queſtions, they *muſt* uſe the *beſt* of Corn, as it affords a better Spirit, and greater Quantity, and as they are at the ſame Expences of Wages, Utenſils, and Apparatus, Houſe-Rent, Fire, *&c.* in extracting from the damaged as from the good Corn.

The Farmer, then, hath not the Vent that is pretended for his damaged Corn.—What is to be done with it? The moſt natural Way of diſpoſing of it, would be the antient Method of feeding Hogs, as that would render the Fleſh firm and wholeſome. But here again the Farmer is injured by the Diſtiller. For it hath been undeniably proved before the ſame Committee, That the Diſtillers feed prodigious Numbers of Hogs, at

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a much cheaper Rate than the Farmer can afford. Mr *Thomas Waite* ſaid, " That he has ſeen 2000 " Hogs fatting at one Time in a Diſtiller's Yard " at *Deptford*; that they are not fed with Corn, " but by Diſtiller's Waſh, and other Things by " them uſed, whereby they are always *kept* " *Drunk*." Excellent Methods of preparing the Fleſh of an Animal, which at beſt is not the moſt wholeſome, to be Food for Man! and the Effect is accordingly: For Mr *Timothy Child* obſerved, (who had been in the Buſineſs of making Bacon upwards of twenty Years) " That the Fleſh of " Diſtillers Hogs is unwholeſome, when kept in " Salt or Pickle any time, and half of it will be " rotten." A lamentable Conſideration this for our poor Sailors, whoſe chief Food is Pork in their long Voyages! What Scurvies! what Cachexies muſt this occaſion in the human Conſtitution! Nay, ſpeaking of the Conſumption of it at home, even as freſh Meat, he obſerves, " It is eatable in " Summer, but has frequently *made People ſick*."

Yet as the Diſtillers feed ſo much cheaper than the Farmers, they greatly underſell them: And Mr *John Butterfield* obſerved upon his Examination, " That in the Year 1722, (*N.B.* Before the drinking of Spirituous Liquors was come to ſuch an immoderate Height) " he fatted a great many " Hogs with Corn not capable of being malted; " and the Price of Bacon was at that time 2*s.* 4*d.* " ℔ Stone to the Market, and 2*s.* 6*d.* ℔ Stone " to private Families. — But when Pork was re-

" duced

" duced to 20*d.* ℔ Stone, he left off; and that " that Sort of Corn he then fed Hogs with, is " now uſeleſs to him. That many Farmers have " left off feeding and breeding of Swine. For " they may as well throw their Corn away, as " attempt to feed Swine upon an Average with " the Diſtillers: That the ſprouted Corn, with " which the Witneſs uſed to feed Hogs, he makes " very little uſe of at preſent: Some of it, he " ſaid, he had ſold to a Perſon, who grinds Corn " for the Diſtillers, at 4*s.* ℔ Quarter leſs than " the Price he had ſold Corn at to the Maltſters: " and the Perſon who bought it, ſold it again " at 3*s.* ℔ Quarter *loſs*."

Let the Publick by theſe Inſtances judge, how far the Diſtillers are Benefactors to the Farmers and the Landed Intereſt.

Secondly, As to the Caſe of *ſound* Corn. It appears by the Prices of Corn at *Bear Key* for the laſt Year, that Wheat (except the very Prime of all) at a Medium was about 27*s.* ℔ Quarter, and Barley about 15*s.* Now, according to Mr *Will. Harveſt*'s Account, when examined by the above-mentioned Committee, 12 Quarters of Barley will produce one Tun of Spirits, that is, 252 Gallons. But the ſame Quantity of Wheat would have produced more. Yet we will ſuppoſe, that both Sorts of Grain produce only the ſame Quantity, and reckon equal Parts of Wheat and Barley to make the Quarter at 21*s.* upon an Average. Now the groſs Amount of the *Britiſh* Diſtilleries

being

being 6613011 Gallons, for the Year 1750, there will be found, according to this Computation, to have been uſed 314905 Quarters of Grain, which at 21*s.* ℔ Quarter amounts to 330650 Pounds Sterling.

Here then we ſee the whole Amount of what is paid by the Diſtillers to the Farmer and the Landed Intereſt.

If therefore the Sums are deducted, which are expended in Corn for making Spirits for Exportation, as it is not propoſed to reſtrain that Branch: —And what will ſtill be uſed for home Conſumption, notwithſtanding any new Diſcouragement both which Articles muſt at leaſt be computed to be one half of the groſs Sum; then there remains 165325 Pounds, the Sum which the Diſtillers are ſuppoſed at preſent to expend on the Landed Intereſt;—and which would ſink, were the exceſſive Drinking of Spirituous Liquors duly reſtrained.

N. B. It is to be particularly obſerved, that the Calculations are made to run as high as poſſible in the Diſtillers Favour. For there is no Notice taken of the damaged Corn uſed, be it more or leſs: But all is ſuppoſed to be of the beſt, and at the higheſt Price. No Allowance is made for the advanced Price laſt Year, on Account of the large Exportation to *Spain*, which may not happen another Year: It is here likewiſe granted, that equal Quantities of Wheat and Barley are conſumed by the Diſtillers, though the certain Fact is, that there

there are much greater Quantities of Barley: Moreover 12 Quarters of Corn are ſuppoſed to produce only 252 Gallons of Spirit; though the Treatiſe entitled, *Diſtilled Spirituous Liquors the Bane of the Nation*, (whoſe excellent Author is above all Cenſure both as to Integrity and Judgment) poſitively aſſerts, *page* 21, That the Diſtillers themſelves confeſs, they can draw 23 Gallons of Proof Spirits from *one* Quarter of Corn, *i. e.* 276 Gallons from 12 Quarters.

If therefore all theſe Items were taken into the Eſtimation, there would not remain 100000 £. to * the Credit Side of the Diſtillers Account. But ſuppoſe the moſt:—nay, ſuppoſe 200000 £. what is that to the preventing the Conſumption of about TWO MILLIONS a Year of the Produce of Land! and the yearly Loſs of very near FOUR MILLIONS to the Nation in general! (See the Eſtimates, and Obſervations on them, in the *Appendix.*)

4. *Anſwer.* If the preſent Uſe of Spirituous Liquors is beneficial to the Farmer, and the Landed Intereſt; then it follows, That the fewer the People, — and the leſs Work they do, — the poorer they are houſed and cloathed,—and the leſs Appetites they have for their Victuals; the more would be the Profit of the Farmer and his Landlord: That is, When the Farmer ſells much *leſs* in *Quantity* than he otherwiſe would do, and for *leſs*

* *N. B.* No Allowance is here made for the great Quantity of Spirits drawn from Molaſſes, Treacle, or other Materials, which would conſiderably reduce this Calculation.

leſs Price,—then he receives the MORE MONEY. This is ſuch an Expedient for the Benefit of the Landed Intereſt, for paying of Rents, Rates, and Taxes, employing the Poor, and preventing their becoming a Burden to their reſpective Pariſhes;—that I ſhall only obſerve, thoſe Perſons muſt be hard put to it, who could not propoſe a better, than that of converting Barley into Poiſon to murder the Conſumers of Wheat and every other Produce of the Land.

Objection IV. The putting down, or diſcouraging the *Britiſh* Diſtilleries, will be only ſo much Encouragement given for the Introduction of *Foreign* Spirits not paying the Duty:—A Practice too frequent already.

1. *Anſwer*. Foreign Spirits, though run, cannot do ſo much Miſchief, as our own at preſent; becauſe they muſt be neceſſarily dearer, and conſequently not ſo eaſy to be purchaſed by ordinary and common People. Any ſmall Quantity of the beſt Gin (as it is called) may be retailed at the Rate of 9*d*. the Quart; but the ſame Quantity of Brandy can hardly be *retailed* for double the Sum, even upon the Sea-Coaſt, where it is run.

2. *Anſwer*. In the Caſe of *Engliſh* Spirits, the Inland Parts of the Kingdom, where the *chief Manufactures* are, ſuffer equally with the Sea-Coaſts; becauſe Diſtilleries may be, and are ſet up, wherever there is a Vent for the Commodity, which is particularly found to be in Places of Manufacture. But theſe Inland Parts of the King-

dom

dom cannot be much hurt by the Smuggling of Liquors from abroad, as the very Land Carriage, and the continual Riſque, enhance the Price, ſo as to make it too dear for the manufacturing Poor to purchaſe.

3. *Anſwer.* Some proper Methods may be taken even to ſuppreſs Smuggling. For ſure the Evil is not altogether incurable, if ſuch Expedients are happily found out as go to the Root of it, and are carried into juſt Execution.

It may indeed be too difficult for a private Perſon, to find out a Remedy equal to a Diſeaſe ſo univerſal, and of ſo long Continuance: But yet as every well-meant Endeavour for the Publick Service is candidly accepted, when offered with Modeſty and Submiſſion, it is to be hoped the following Thoughts, which proceed no farther than by Way of *Quere*, will be favourably received.

Quere I. If the Privileges and Exemptions of the Iſlands of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, &c. were aboliſhed, and thoſe PERFECTLY united to the *Britiſh* Crown, could the ſame Frauds be then practiſed, as the running of Goods, which have had a Drawback granted them, Smuggling of *French* Wines, Brandies, Teas, Coffee, Chocolate, Silks, Lace, and all other Commodities, as are at preſent?—Could the *French* Wines be mixt with *Port*, and then entered as if they were all the Growth of *Portugal*, to the great Detriment of the Revenue, the manifeſt Injury of the *Portugal* Trade,

Trade, the certain irreparable Loſs to the Nation; and the open avowed Encouragement to PERJURY?—Could the Smacks and Cruiſers, which were deſigned to guard the Coaſt, have the ſame Pretence to enter the Ports of *France*, which they have now to ſtep into *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, viz. to ſee what Veſſels were lading,—and *ſometimes* take in a Lading for themſelves?—*Et quis Cuſtodes cuſtodiat ipſos?*

Quere II. If the Juriſdiction of the *Iſle of Man* was annexed to the Crown, in the ſame Manner as the Hereditable Juriſdictions in *Scotland* lately were, could *France*, *Holland*, *Denmark*, &c. find any Place in *our own* Seas, as a *Storehouſe* or *Magazine*, for depoſiting their ſeveral contraband Goods, in order to run them on the Coaſts of *England*, *Wales*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland?* If the Collectors of the Cuſtoms of the preſent noble Proprietor of this Iſland, were obliged to lay before the Parliament their Books of Entries for the laſt ſeven Years, and ſuch Entries compared with the Accounts that might be tranſmitted from *France*, *Holland*, *Denmark*, &c. would it not appear, that the reſpective *India* Companies of thoſe Countries had imported vaſt Quantities of Teas, and other *India* Goods, PRINCIPALLY with a View to make their Markets by Smuggling them into *Great Britain* and *Ireland?* And ought not that Circumſtance alone be an alarming Conſideration to the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company, to the Government, and the whole *Britiſh* Nation? Do the *French*, *Dutch*, *Danes*, &c. permit the *Engliſh*

to uſe any Part of their reſpective Dominions for the like Purpoſes? And would it not be more advantageous to the *Britiſh* Nation, *as to the mere Articles of Profit and Loſs*, to pay Subſidies to theſe Countries of 200000 Pounds *per* Annum, than to let Matters continue on the preſent Footing? Laſtly, with regard to our own Subjects, if this Iſland were annexed to the Crown, could the *corrupt* Part of the Commanders of the Smacks and Cruiſers receive any Emolument for *conniving* at the Evils here complained of? or the *honeſt* Part be inſulted, and even impriſoned by the Deputy Governors or their Agents, for diſcharging faithfully their Duty; of which there hath been a very glaring and recent Inſtance? And would it be practicable to make as many *ſham Exportations* of Tobacco, and other Goods entitled to a Drawback, as it is at preſent?

Quere III. Whether the preſent Methods of collecting the Duties on *French* Brandies, and other Foreign Liquors, are not found to be eventually productive of great Temptations to ſmuggle them? Whether ſuch Temptations could poſſibly be ſo ſtrong, if there was the ſame Permiſſion granted to the Importers of theſe Commodities, as there is to the Importers of Rum; viz. *To put them in the King's Warehouſe, paying the Duties only for the Quantities they take out, when they meet with a Purchaſer, and leaving the Reſt to continue?* Whether a Smuggler with One hundred Pounds Stock would run the Riſque of his Life and Fortune, which the preſent Laws ſubject him to, if he

he could commence a fair Trader, to sufficient Advantage, with so small a Capital? And whether, in Case of such a Permission, a Man could not carry on a more extensive Trade with One hundred Pounds, than he can do now with six times the Sum?

☞ Whether the great Frauds in the Tobacco Trade, to the prodigious Detriment of the Revenue, and the National Interest, cannot likewise be accounted for, upon the Principle here suggested? And if the Importers of Tobacco were allowed the like Benefit as the Importers of Rum, whether there would be any illicit Practices in the Trade of the one, more than in that of the other?

Quere IV. If all Seizures were absolutely prohibited to be sold for home Consumption, could they then *cover* the vending any Quantity of unaccustomed Goods, which are now vended in large Quantities by this Means?—If the Seizures were not to be used at home, would the Purchasers give *more* for such Goods, than they do for others of the like intrinsick Value? And is not the *advanced* Price now given, a plain Indication of the Uses to which they are applied?

Quere V. If the Commanders and Officers of the Smacks and Cruisers were to be paid only one half of their Salaries of *Course*, and the other half by way of *Gratuity*, when it appeared that they had been vigilant and active to *an high Degree*, would not this quicken their Motions, and add new Life and Vigour to their Endeavours?—If those who could give no Proof of an *extraordinary*

Vigilance were to loſe ſuch Gratuities, and others to receive them, as an *additional* Reward, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt eminently, would not this be a Means of raiſing a Spirit of Emulation among them, and making the *active* Principles of Intereſt, Shame, Fear, Honour, Diſgrace, all unite, and operate for the Publick Good?

Quere VI. If a few independent Companies of light Horſe were raiſed, in the Nature of *Huſſars*, would not ſuch kind of Cavalry be much more proper to ſcour the Coaſts, and purſue Smugglers, than heavy Horſe, and Dragoons, and regular Forces?— And if their Officers were paid in the ſame Manner, as is propoſed for the Officers of Smacks and Cruiſers, would it not be an additional Advantage to the common Cauſe, a Security for their Integrity, and an Incentive to their Vigilance?

Quere VII. If the *whole* Seizures were given to the Captors, would it not be a greater Encouragement than giving them a Part? And if the Fees and Expences of the Court of Exchequer for Condemnation did not riſe ſo high, would not this enhance the Value of the Prize to the Captors, and conſequently make them more active and vigilant in the Purſuit of it? Whether there have not been Inſtances of Cuſtomhouſe Officers *compounding* with the Delinquents for *petty* Seizures, rather than be at the Expence of condemning them in the *Exchequer*, as that would ſwallow up the Profit?

Theſe

Theſe Queries the Author would humbly offer to public Conſideration; not doubting but many other Methods might be found out, greatly conducive to the ſame good End. As to the Difficulties againſt putting this Scheme into immediate Execution; he is not aware of any, but is far from preſuming to determine that there are none.

Objection V. If our common People cannot get drunk with Gin and Spirits, they *will* with other Liquors:—and that is as bad.

1. *Anſwer.* The Uſe of other Liquors is not as bad; becauſe the Drinking of Spirituous Liquors is a kind of *inſtantaneous* Drunkenneſs, where a Man hath no time to recollect or think, whether he has had enough or not. The Smallneſs of the Quantity deceives him, ſo that his Reaſon is gone before he is aware. But when a poor labouring Man hath drank his Pint of Ale, he is ſtill Sober, and cool enough to conſider, whether he ſhould call for more.

2. *Anſwer.* The Uſe of other Liquors is not as bad, as the *Nature* of the Drunkenneſs is not the ſame. Ale is a *Soporifick:* A Man drunk with Ale, falls aſleep, and is *ſo far* an harmleſs Creature: whereas the Perſon intoxicated with Gin, is *mad* and *furious*, without Senſe of Duty, Fear, or Shame, "ready to engage in any Acts of Villany and Outrage."

3. *Anſwer.* The Effects and Conſequences on the Human Conſtitution, and in Relation to the Increaſe of the Species, are not the ſame. See

the Miſeries and direful Conſequences of drinking Spirituous Liquors, ſet forth in the Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*'s late Sermon, Dedication, and Appendix.

Objection VI. All the Rules and Regulations that can be deviſed, will not cure the Evil. People bewitched with Spirituous Liquors, will have them by ſome means or other: ſo that the new intended Law, will be as ineffectual as all the former ones.

1. *Anſwer.* The Reaſon why the former Laws became ineffectual, hath been accounted for already, *page* 7: So that the Experience of former Times will help the Legiſlature to provide againſt the like Inconveniencies for the Future.

2. *Anſwer.* As to the Poſition, That People *will* have Spirituous Liquors: it is to be obſerved, that the preſent Drinkers of Spirituous Liquors may be divided into three Sorts; firſt, ſuch as are obſtinately addicted to it;—ſecondly, ſuch as have no unconquerable Attachment, yet cannot withſtand the Temptation, when thrown in their Way;—thirdly, young Children, and the riſing Generation.

With reſpect to the firſt of theſe;—Though it ſhould be found impracticable totally to prevent them, yet a Law of this Nature muſt neceſſarily make it exceeding *difficult* for them to get at it, as often as before: conſequently the Price being enhanced, the Quantity drank would be much leſs; which Circumſtance alone, would prolong

their

their Lives, and hinder their Example from being ſo corrupting, as otherwiſe it would be.

With reſpect to the ſecond Sort; — If the Temptation is removed, theſe People may be eaſy enough without it: there being a material Difference between *being tempted*,—and ſeeking a Temptation. Many People, who would never have ſought a Temptation, may yet be overcome when they are aſſaulted by it.

As to the third Sort;—There can be no Reaſon to believe, but that Children and the riſing Generation may be eaſily reclaimed, as they have not yet been *habitually* accuſtomed to it.

3. *Anſwer.* If ſuch a Law will be no Reſtraint to this growing Evil; we ſhall be at the worſt but juſt where we were: conſequently, there can be no very weighty Reaſon for *induſtriouſly* oppoſing it. Therefore, if there ſhould be any violent Oppoſition made to a Bill for this good Purpoſe, it cannot be upon Account of its having no Effect, though that may be pretended.—There muſt be ſome other Reaſon at the Bottom.

AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

Certain Eſtimates of the Annual Loſs and Profit of *Great Britain*, by drinking Gin and Spirituous Liquors, with Obſervations upon them.

ANNUAL LOSS.

	£.	s.	d.
SUPPOSE there are 400000 Dram-Drinkers, who eat leſs Bread by at leaſt 3*d.* each, in the Space of ſeven Days, the Amount of this is, —	260714	5	8½
They eat leſs Butchers Meat, Fiſh, Roots, Garden-Stuff, Butter, Cheeſe, Eggs, Bacon, Salt, Milk, Sugar, and all Sorts of Groceries, by 1*d.* ℔ Day, or 7*d.* ℔ Week,	608333	6	8
They drink leſs Malt Liquor, by 4*d.* ℔ Week, — —	347619	0	11½
Carried over —	1216666	13	4

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over —	1216666	13	4
They uſe leſs Apparel and Cloathing of all Sorts, leſs Waſhing, Soap, *&c.* by 2*d.* ℔ Week, — — —	173809	10	5½
They uſe fewer Utenſils, and leſs Furniture in their Houſes or Lodgings, leſs Change of Bedding, and Waſhing of ditto, leſs Fuel and Candle to Work by, by 2*d.* ℔ Week,	173809	10	5½
They do leſs Work by 1*s.* 6*d.* ℔ Week, — — —	1564285	14	3½

What is above computed, relates only to Gin-Drinkers when *alive*; but to this Account muſt be added the Loſs which the Nation ſuſtains by the *premature* and *untimely* DEATHS of ſo many Labourers and Mechanicks, whoſe Lives are continually ſhortned or deſtroyed by means of this Poiſon.--Likewiſe the Thefts, Robberies, and Executions hence occaſioned.—The Prevention of the Encreaſe of the Species,—The conſequent Loſſes and Deficiencies in the Working up all Sorts of Ma-

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over —	3128571	8	6 4/7
nufactures.—Leſs Proviſions expended.—Sickneſs brought on.—The Numbers that daily become a Burden upon their Pariſhes.--The prodigious Increaſe of the Poor-Taxes,—and the Loſs of Labour from ALL theſe Cauſes; which, that we may be ſure to put it low enough, ſhall only be eſtimated at 2s. ℔ Week, —	2085714	5	8 4/7
	5214285	14	3 3/7
Deduct the Annual Profits, as appears underneath, —	1216666	13	4
Remains for Total of Annual Loſs, — — — —	3997619	0	11 3/7

ANNUAL PROFIT.

THE above 400000 Perſons of *both Sexes* in *Great Britain*, are ſuppoſed to drink two penny worth each ℔ Day of *Engliſh* Spirits, one Day with another: The yearly Amount of this is — 1216666 13 4

So

So malignant is this Evil, and extenſive in its fatal Conſequences! Here therefore let us obſerve, that if the Calculations are juſt, the Loſs which the Nation annually ſuſtains, is prodigious and aſtoniſhing; the Prevention of which in the Courſe of few Years would amount to a Sum equal to the whole National Debt. But if there are any Objections againſt this Train of Reaſoning, they muſt turn upon the Suppoſition, in the *preſent Caſe*, that the Calculations are made *too high:* For the Diſtillers can have no Grounds to complain in Caſe the Loſſes are ſet *too low*, as every Error on that Side is ſo much in their Favour.

Now if the Eſtimates on the *Profit ſide* of the Account are too high; a Rectification of the Miſtake would make the Balance appear ſtill *worſe* in their Diſfavour. Therefore the *only* Objection to be made, muſt relate to the *loſing ſide* of the Account. The Queſtion therefore is, Which of all theſe Articles can be ſuppoſed to be over-charged?

Is it an immoderate Computation to allow 400000 habitual Drinkers of Gin and *Engliſh* Spirits in the whole Kingdom of *Great Britain?* —Rather would not any Man ſay, that there are a much greater Number within the City of *London*, and the Neighbouring Counties, without taking in the reſt of the Kingdom? But whatever be the real Number of Gin Drinkers, whether 400000 or four Times that Number, the *real* Loſs to the Nation is in *Proportion* to the *real* Number; which beyond all Diſpute is much greater than 400000: and of Courſe the Nation, beſides that dreadful Calamity, the *Deſtruction* and Diminution of *People*, ſuffers a much greater annual Loſs, as to the Conſumption of the Produce of the Land, as to Manufactures, Trade and Revenue

nue upon all these, than I have represented.—But to be somewhat more particular.

Is it then an Over-charge to say, that each *habitual* Dram-Drinker eats less Bread by 3*d.* ℔ Week? If any one is disposed to be of that Opinion, let him please to consider, that whereas a Day-Labourer or Mechanick, who is no Dram-Drinker, can very well eat a Pound of Bread ℔ Day, at a Medium, together with a good Quantity of solid Animal Food, and a Pint of Ale (and must require more, unless he hath these Supports) an habitual Dram-Drinker seldom eats one third of the Quantity.—Moreover it is a notorious Fact, that many of the Parish Poor have carried their Allowance of Bread to the Gin-Shop, and there exchanged the *four-penny Loaf* of *Bread* for *three-penny* worth of *Gin*. One Circumstance relating to this Subject may perhaps recur to the Memories of several Persons, *viz.* That in the late hard Winter, the Candidates for Money, and *whole Loaves* were vastly more numerous than those for Slices of Bread, Cheese, dressed Meat, and good Broth;—though these latter were intrinsically of greater value:—Nay, they were slighted and and despised: And the Reason was, *Because they were not saleable at the Gin-Shop.*

The next Article of Loss consists in the less Consumption of Butchers-Meat, Fish, Roots, Garden-Stuff, Butter, Cheese, Eggs, Bacon, Salt, Milk, Sugar, and all Sorts of Groceries;—and this is only rated at 1*d.* ℔ Day: Whereas had it been double the Sum, perhaps it would not have amounted to the real Loss. And indeed the habitual Use of Spirituous Liquors is known, not only to pall and destroy the Appetite, but to make the little that is remaining *weak* and *delicate*. The common People by their bodily Exercise are supposed to be capable of digesting, and by their Station

Station in Life are under a kind of Neceſſity of purchaſing, the *coarſeſt* Proviſions;—conſequently the *cheapeſt*. But ever ſince the frequent Uſe of Spirituous Liquors, the Palates of the Poor are become *Nice* and *Sickly*, to a degree deſerving one's Pity and Compaſſion. They are not able to purchaſe *Dainties*; and they cannot *touch* what is *coarſe* and *ordinary*.—The Dram therefore is the only Refuge: And hence it is, that the great Dealers in Fleſh-Meat in *Southwark* and *White-Chapel* have juſtly complained of late Years, that they can have no Purchaſers for the coarſer Parts of Meat, which uſed formerly to be Sold to the Poor at a low Price, but muſt now be buried, or thrown upon a Dunghill *. And moſt undoubtedly what proves to be the Caſe with reſpect to Butchers-Meat, holds equally true in regard to all other Sorts of Proviſions.

As to the great Deficiency in regard to Beer and Ale, I would only beg leave to obſerve, that when labouring People uſe theſe Liquors in a *moderate* Degree, they are enabled and ſupported to Work the better: Conſequently a Pint a Day is no unreaſonable Allowance in hard-working Trades, and a Penny-worth in others. But the Dram-Drinker hath no Ends to anſwer by the Uſe of Ale, or Beer; it is too *cool* and *ſpiritleſs* to warm a Stomach long habituated to the Fire of diſtilled Liquors;—And yet not cool and quenching enough to allay the burning Thirſt this Fire has occaſioned. Therefore Small Beer or Water is the only preſent Remedy: But as Small Beer is exceſſive cheap in compariſon of Ale, the largeſt Conſumption of it can by no Means compenſate for the Loſs ſuſtained in not making a proper Uſe of

* See that judicious Treatiſe, *Spirituous Liquors the Bane of the Nation*, Page 13, &c.

of Ale. Moreover, I submit it to the learned Gentlemen of the Faculty, whether the large Draughts such unhappy Wretches swallow down, do not lay the Foundation of many fatal Diseases.

The two next Articles are the Loss of what might be expended in Apparel, Washing, Soap, *&c.*—And in Furniture for their Houses or Lodgings. Now whoever will be pleased to take Notice of the Rags and Nakedness of these miserable Objects, their want of proper Change, Washing, *&c.*—the shocking Scenes of Nastiness and Poverty in the Places they herd together in, often without so much as a Bed to lie on, never with what is decent and convenient; will, I am persuaded, be much apter to object to the Estimate as vastly defective, than that these Articles are at all over-charged.

To come therefore to that which must occasion all these Losses, *viz.* THE LOSS OF LABOUR. This is estimated only at 1*s.* 6*d.* ℔ Week. Whereas it is to be considered, that where the Drinking of Spirituous Liquors mostly prevails, there the Price of Labour is at the highest. In many Trades in *London* Journeymens Wages are 15*s.* and 20*s.* ℔ Week, and upwards; and Women may get from 8*s.* to 12*s.* So that the mispending but a few Hours in a Week would more than double this Sum. And those who are addicted to this Vice, have no Notion of getting any more at their respective Trades than sufficient to purchase the Dram: This being the Sum Total of their Wishes, or, in their own Phrase, their Meat, Drink, and Cloaths:—Which indeed is almost literally true; as they use very little of either besides.

After what hath been said, I hope it will be needless to add any thing, as to the *concluding Article* of the Estimate.—If the Losses occasioned by so many Lives shortned or destroyed,—Robberies

beries and Murders—the Prevention of the Encreaſe of the Species, *&c. &c.* can be objected againſt, as ſet too high, at 2*s.* ℔ Week, I ſhall deſpair of giving any Anſwer, which can ſatisfy ſuch Objectors. On the contrary, if the candid and impartial Reader will be pleaſed to pardon the ſetting the ſeveral Articles ſo *very low*, I ſhall have little Reaſon to apprehend his Cenſure on the other Account.—One Thing I muſt beg leave to add, that I did not intend to *exceed* by a ſingle Farthing; and deſignedly choſe to ſet every Article vaſtly ſhort of what was my own Judgement concerning them.

The whole aggregate Sum indeed, or total Loſs, when brought in one View, ſtrikes one with a degree of Horror and Amazement: A Loſs little leſs than FOUR MILLIONS, which Yearly falls upon the Trading Intereſt,—the Landed Intereſt,—and the Revenue of *Great Britain!* How complicated and extenſively deſtructive is this Evil!—It would be a poor Conſolation to pretend to ſhew, which of the Three here mentioned, are the leaſt Sufferers. Be it ſufficient to obſerve, that they muſt all jointly ſuffer: And more particularly, that as every Decay in Trade, *&c.* muſt ultimately fall upon Land, the Damage accruing to the Landed Intereſt, now the Evil hath been of ſo long Continuance, muſt be at leaſt TWO MILLIONS A YEAR.—And will be ſoon more, if this Vice is ſuffered to go on.

POST

POSTSCRIPT.

AN Objection has lately come to my Knowledge, which I did not suspect there was any Colour for, *viz.* That in the above Estimate there is a *double Charge* on the losing Side; first, by specifying the several Particulars, which the Drinkers of Spirituous Liquors are supposed *not* to consume in consequence of this Practice; and, secondly, by charging the Loss of their Labour as a distinct Article from the former.

But suppose *A.* and *B.* are both Manufacturers, and *mutual* Consumers of each other's Produce. *A.* hath a certain Number of Wants, suppose twenty, partly natural, partly artificial, to be supplied. So likewise hath *B.* But *A.* takes to drinking of Spirituous Liquors, and by that Means becomes both *incapacitated* and *disinclined* to work for *B.* in the Manner he did before. In short he supplies but the one half of *B.*'s usual Wants. What then is the Consequence? —Will *B.* work for him for nothing? That cannot be supposed. —Besides, it hath been already proved, that the habitual Use of Spirituous Liquors doth destroy *A.*'s Appetite, and takes away his Inclination for almost every Produce, or Manufacture, but his beloved evil Spirit.

On the contrary, if *A.* should grow more industrious than before, he would still purchase with this Surplus something he esteems of Use either to himself or his Family; that is, he would give a suitable Encouragement to *B.* to become more industrious likewise in the several Branches of his Profession. Thus it is, that these Persons must always

always prove either a *mutual Incentive*, or a *mutual Check* to each other: And there can be no Medium in this Caſe, between a *double Advantage* or a *double Loſs* to the Community.

Hence likewiſe it appears, it is impoſſible there can be a Want of Labour, but where there is a previous Want of Induſtry on one Side or the other. For the more Hands there are employed, the more Employment they will create for other Hands: and by that means, a mutual Circulation is carried on through every Trade, every Profeſſion and Condition, from the Meaneſt to the Greateſt. For Example; One hundred Families in any Town, if induſtrious, mutually find Employment for one another in their various Occupations; the ſame Town encreaſed to Five hundred Families, would by mutual Commerce produce a correſpondent Addition of Trade and Manufactures: and the Five hundred would find Employment in the ſame Manner as the One hundred do. —With a proportional Encreaſe of Advantages to the *Landed Intereſt*, and to the *Publick*, by larger Conſumptions of the Produce of the Land, and larger Contributions to every Tax and Duty.

FINIS.

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REFLECTIONS

On the EXPEDIENCY of

Opening the TRADE to *TURKY*.

I. ALL the Powers in *Europe* are now endeavouring to extend their Commerce; And if GREAT BRITAIN cannot, or *will not* extend hers in Proportion, ſhe will be no longer able to preſerve that Rank and Figure ſhe has hitherto maintained.

II. MANY of thoſe Countries, *Spain* in particular, which uſed to admit great Quantities of *Engliſh* Merchandiſe, are now ſetting up Manufactures of their own, and laying Burdens on ours, to prevent their Introduction: So that it is become more expedient than ever, to ſeek out as many *new* Markets as we can.

III. THE *Turky* Company are not *able*, were they *willing*, to ſell the *Engliſh* Manufactures ſo cheap as they might be rendered by Virtue of a free Trade: For

1*ſt*, If no Ships are allowed to be employed, but the general Ships of the Company, or ſuch as the Managers ſhall appoint, a private Member has no Choice, but muſt ſubmit to all the Expences, Inconveniences, and Diſcouragements, which the Directors and their Friends will pleaſe to lay upon him :

2*dly*, The Carriage of the Goods up to *London*, the Gains of the Factors, Clerks, Warehouſe-Keepers, and all intermediate Agents, are very heavy Taxes on the Manufacture, ſufficient of themſelves to turn the Balance in Favour of our Rivals the *French*, the natural Enemies of our Commerce :

3*dly*, The Expence of Package, Porterage, Hallage, Loading, and Unloading, Cuſtom-houſe Fees, and all Port Charges, are more exorbitant in *London* than in any Part of the Kingdom :

4*thly*, The Dearneſs of Victualling and Manning of Ships in the Port of *London*, is another material Article; whereas many other Ports are not only cheaper, but more commodiouſly ſituated, as being nearer the Places, where the Goods are manufactured.

IV. The Aims of an excluſive Company can never coincide with the Welfare of the Public; Inaſmuch as Monopoliſts, eſtabliſhed by Law, are thereby ſecured from Rivals; So that their particular Intereſts conſiſt in ſelling as *dear* as they can; whereas the Intereſt of private Adventurers is to ſell as *cheap*

as poſſible, in order to get Cuſtom by rivalling each other. Thus the Public is benefited by Emulation, as it promotes the Circulation of Labour and univerſal Plenty;—but is hurt by Monopoliſts, who are a Check to Induſtry, to the Circulation of Labour at home, and the Exportation of it abroad; and whoſe only View, whatever may be pretended, is to ſacrifice the general Intereſt of the Kingdom to that of a few Individuals.

V. THE *Turky* Company is a Monopoly in every Senſe,—* as no private Member is allowed to fit out a Ship *when* he pleaſes, or to export and import what *Quantities* of Goods he would chuſe,—As the Trade is confined to the ſingle *expenſive* Port of *London*,—As the Freedom of the Company is limited to Merchants by Profeſſion, and has been obſtructed

* See the *London Magazine* for the Months of *Nov.* and *Dec.* 1745, where theſe Points are inconteſtibly proved in the excellent Speeches of L--d *S-nds*, p. 530 and 636; and of L--d *L-ngſd-le*, p. 578.—See alſo Sir *Joſiah Child*, Chap. 3. *Concerning the Companies of Merchants*; where all the ſuppoſed Objections againſt an open Trade are anſwered. Only the Reader is deſired to take Notice, That as to what this celebrated Writer has ſaid about the Neceſſity of excluſive Companies for the *Guinea* and *Eaſt-India* Trade, Experience has fully demonſtrated ſince he wrote, That he was miſtaken in Relation to the Trade to the Coaſt of *Guinea*; it being now ten Times more extenſive, and more advantageous to this Nation, than ever it was, when *confined* to a Company;—And with Regard to the *Eaſt-Indies*—Sir *Joſiah* himſelf was the Chairman of that Company,—and his Brother the chief Governor abroad.

under frivolous Pretences,—And as the Members themſelves are fettered with By-laws.

VI. THIS excluſive Society not only exports a much leſs Quantity of *Engliſh Labour* than would be exported, were the *Engliſh* Trade free, but alſo imports the *leſs* of *raw Materials*, ſo neceſſary for ſeveral Manufactures, and the Employment of the Poor.—That important Article, *raw Silk* in particular, which ſhould always be brought to Market at the loweſt Price poſſible, has by Monopolies, and their natural Conſequence, *Engroſſing*, been raiſed ſo high, as to injure greatly the Silk Manufacture. And this ariſes from two Cauſes;

1. THE *Turks* will deal with thoſe, that ſupply them with Goods on the cheapeſt Terms; conſequently not with the *Engliſh*; And ſell to thoſe, who give the higheſt Price, [*i. e.* the greateſt Quantity of Labour in Exchange] which an excluſive Society will not do: Therefore our *Engliſh* Company neither *will*, nor *can* make great Returns in *Turkiſh* Goods:

2. AFTER the Goods are brought to *England*, the Company keep up the Price of their Sales as high as poſſible, in order to get immenſe Profits on ſmall Imports. And this they do with Safety, becauſe there are none to rival them.

VII. OUR Woollen Manufacturers are ready to make it appear from the Specimens they have ſeen of the Cloth of *Languedoc* deſigned for the *Levant*, That they are able to

out-rival the *French*, provided this Commerce has a free Courſe, and every Adventurer is permitted to ſhip off from what Port he pleaſes.

VIII. WERE ſuch Liberty obtained, they have Reaſon to conclude, That they could render their Goods ſtill cheaper;

1*ſt*, BECAUSE thoſe Drugs for Dying, which now paſs thro' the Hands of a Company, would be ſold at a more reaſonable Rate;

2*dly*, BECAUSE the Oils and Aſhes for making Caſtile Soap could be purchaſed on ſuch advantageous Terms, as would induce the *Engliſh* to ſet up that neceſſary Branch of Manufacture: Which Soap is made at preſent chiefly at *Marſeilles*, thence ſent to *Legborn*, and from *Legborn* imported into *England*; By which Means the *Engliſh* Manufacturer is burdened with an heavy additional Expence. —Nor is this the only Evil; For our Colonies in *America* are now wholly ſupplied with *French* Soap from *Martinico*, and the other Iſlands belonging to that Crown, and even from *France* itſelf (the preſent *Engliſh* Soap made of Tallow not being fit for their Climates): By which Means ſeveral other Species of *French* Manufactures are introduced into our Sugar Iſlands and Northern Colonies, to the great Detriment of the Commerce, Revenue, and Navigation of GREAT BRITAIN: But

3*dly*, ANOTHER Reaſon why the Woollen Cloths deſigned for the *Levant*, might be vended cheaper, is, Becauſe a conſiderable

Saving is to be made in the Expence of *Dying*. For were this Trade to have a free Courſe, the Manufacturer might dye his own Cloth at ſuch a Seaſon as would not interfere with his other Buſineſs, and contrive every Thing to the beſt Advantage: Whereas at preſent the Cloth is ſent up white to *London*, and dyed there in haſte, at an exorbitant Charge, both as Living and Wages are dearer, and as thoſe Journeymen, who have not conſtant Buſineſs, muſt have the higher Wages while they are employed.

IX. All other Parts of a Cargo for the *Turkiſh* Dominions, as well as Woollens, might be rendered much cheaper, as the Expence of Carriage, Shipping off, *&c.* would be conſiderably leſs.—Moreover there is the ſtrongeſt Probability, That great Demands would ariſe for the Manufactures of Iron, Steel, Braſs, and Copper, for Cutlery and *Birmingham* Ware, for the Produce of the Looms of *Mancheſter*, *Coventry*, and *Norwich*, for printed Linnens, Paper Hangings, and ſuch Kinds of Ornaments; Inaſmuch as moſt of theſe Articles might be exported from ſeveral Places, at a leſs Charge, than from *London*, — And as the *Engliſh* are known to excel other Nations, both in Fabric and Cheapneſs: So that were the Trade free, the Port of *Marſeilles* would labour under ſuch Difficulties from theſe Circumſtances, as the Advantage of its Situation could by no Means compenſate.

X. ADD to all this, That the Freight, and Insurance, and Navigation of Ships are much dearer, in Proportion, at *Marseilles*, than in *England*. The Interest of Money is also *Six per Cent*; and the Price of Tin and Lead, and Shot must necessarily be much higher: So that the prodigious Encrease of their *Levant* Trade cannot possibly be ascribed to any other Cause, but to the Monopolies and Exclusions of the *English* against their own Countrymen, in Favour of the *French*. And therefore it should be duly considered by every *true Patriot* and Lover of his Country, That the CHIEF Competition in this Struggle for the Liberty of Commerce, is not between one *English* Merchant and another,—But between GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE.

XI. WERE the Trade laid open, the *Turks*, *Greeks*, and all the Nations of those vast Territories would find a greater Demand for their respective Commodities; and then they could afford to buy greater Quantities of ours:—Whereas at present they neither are able to purchase much, nor, if they were, are they inclined to do it, on Account of the excessive Dearness of the *English* Merchandise.

XII. AN Encrease of the Exportation of our own Manufactures must create an Encrease in the Excise, and all inland Duties; for the Government is infallibly a Gainer by every Scheme, that finds Employment for the People, encourages Labour, and promotes

Wealth, as theſe Things neceſſarily occaſion the greater Conſumption of all Commodities, that pay Duties:—On the other Hand, an Encreaſe of the Importation of ſuch foreign Materials, as excite the Induſtry of the Natives, is doubly advantageous, both by the *Cuſtoms* they pay at firſt Landing, and the *Hands* they employ afterwards. Therefore the Encreaſe of ſuch a Trade is deſirable, in every Light, both to the Government, and to the People.

XIII. If any of the Merchants belonging to the Out-ports ſhould happen to bring in ſuch raw Materials as are not wanted on the Spot, the Advantages they receive in other Reſpects would enable them to pay the Expence of Carriage to a proper Market. And indeed the Carriage of raw Silk, Camels Hair, Cotton Wool, *&c.* from *Briſtol* to *Coventry*, from *Liverpool* to *Mancheſter* and *Derby*, from *Yarmouth* to *Norwich*, *&c.* would not be ſo dear, as it is now from *London* to thoſe Places. Beſides, it is natural to ſuppoſe, That as the Trade encreaſed, other Towns in the North, and Weſt, and Middle of *England*, and in *Scotland* alſo, would ſet up Manufactures. So that every Part of the *united* Kingdom ought to conſider itſelf as intereſted in Opening this Monopoly.

XIV. Whatever Regulations are judged neceſſary, under the Inſpection of proper Perſons either at home, or abroad, for the good Government of a *free* Trade, or the Preſerva-

tion of Health, and Security from the Plague, they will be gladly received, and thankfully ſubmitted to. And an open Trade might be very eaſily put under much ſtricter Examinations, not only as to the Goodneſs of the Manufactures exported, but alſo in Relation to * Bills of Health, and performing Quarantine, than what the Company have been ſubject to for many Years paſt;—Tho' a Plague in *London* would have been much more fatal, than in any other Part of the Kingdom.

XV. WERE the Trade to *Spain* or *Portugal* now in the Hands of a Company, and an At-

* All Ships returning from the *Levant*, in Times of Infection, might perform Quarantine either at *Portmahon*, or *Gibralter*, as theſe Places are directly in their Voyage homewards, and might be made very convenient for ſupplying them with proper Stores, and Refreſhments; ſo that it would be in ſome Meaſure the Intereſt of Ships, on a long Voyage, to call at one or other of theſe Places; eſpecially if they were made *Free Ports*. Moreover for the greater Security, all Ships returning from the *Levant* might be obliged, under the Penalty of forfeiting Ship and Cargo, to touch at one or other of theſe Ports, and obtain Bills of Health from the Magiſtrates, before they proceed to *England*. Theſe Cautions are very practicable in themſelves, and yet much ſtricter than have been uſually required either of the *Turky* Company, or of the Merchants trading to *Barbary* and *Morocco*. And here we muſt obſerve, that though the Plague is as frequent in theſe Countries as in *Turky*, yet the Company never objected to the Carrying on of an *open* Trade to *Barbary* and *Morocco*; and the Reaſon is,—Becauſe theſe Countries are without the Limits of their Charter.

tempt made to render it free, great Pains would be taken, *as there are now in the preſent Caſe*, to ſet forth the Danger of permitting Shop-keepers and low Tradeſmen to go over to *Spain* and *Portugal*.

" THEY will raiſe the Jealouſy of the Po-
" pulace by interfering with their Trades,—
" or inflame the Zeal of Bigots againſt coun-
" tenancing Heretics : — Low and indiſcreet
" People will import *prohibited* Books, and ſo
" draw down the Power and Vengeance of
" the Inquiſition,—will give Offence by their
" Behaviour while the Hoſt is paſſing by,—
" perhaps ridicule ſome of their religious Pro-
" ceſſions, and ſo cauſe Tumults and Inſur-
" rections :—Or in general they will not fail
" to excite an univerſal Odium by the Diver-
" ſity of their Dreſs and Cuſtoms, and great
" Licentiouſneſs of Manners.—Therefore by
" attempting to throw the Trade open, we
" ſhall infallibly loſe it all."

THUS it appears, That Objections much *more plauſible* might be raiſed againſt opening the Trade to *Spain* and *Portugal*, were it now in the Hands of a Company, than againſt the Revocation of any excluſive Grant now ſubſiſting. But indeed We muſt conſider all theſe Kinds of Objections as the *mere Dialect* of Monopoliſts, who uſe it, *mutatis mutandis*, againſt opening *any* Trade, in order to cover their own private Intereſt under an Appearance of Public Good.

BUT Common Senſe and daily Experience are continually expoſing the Falſity of ſuch Suggeſtions. And were the Trade opened to *Turky*, there is no Degree of Probability, That Shop-keepers and low People would be fond of going there: — And if they did go, they certainly would agree with the Natives as well as the *Engliſh* Sailors do now.

XVI. IF the Trade to *Turky* had a free Courſe, what Reaſon is there to imagine, That it would be engroſſed by the *Jews?* And why muſt it be ſuppoſed, That the *Engliſh* in particular would ſuffer in this Reſpect, more than the *French*, *Dutch*, or *Italians?* Beſides, as the *Jews* might inſiſt upon the Freedom of the Company, as well as others, provided they are Merchants by Profeſſion, and as they reſide chiefly in *London*, and are a rich *united* Body *of Merchants*, this very Objection might be urged with greater Force againſt the Confining ſuch a Trade to a Company, than againſt laying it open;—Eſpecially. as the *Engliſh Jews* by Means of their Connection with their Brethren in *Turky*, who are the only Brokers in that Country, might be the better able to form a Combination to engroſs the whole Trade to themſelves, and execute it with Succeſs. But in fact, this Objection betrays its own Weakneſs, and would never have been brought, if a ſtronger could be found: and it is the firſt Time that the *Jews* were accuſed of being injurious to the Intereſts of a *Trading* Nation.

XVII. It is equally incredible, that the Government and People of *Turky* ſhould be diſpleaſed at the Diſſolution of the preſent Monopoly. And what Grounds are there for ſuch a Suppoſition? For in an *open* Trade, *English* Manufactures would be imported in greater Quantity and Variety, and on cheaper Terms, — more *Turkiſh* Goods be taken in Barter, and a larger Revenue would ariſe to the Government. But in a *confined* Trade, fewer Manufactures are imported, more exorbitant in Price, demanding fewer Goods in Exchange, and paying leſs to the Cuſtoms. And can we imagine, That the *Turks* would once heſitate, to which Side the Preference is due? Or have we ever found, That any of thoſe other Nations, to whom We once traded by excluſive Companies, have complained at the Diſſolution of theſe deſtructive Monopolies, and deſired their Reſtoration?

To confirm this, We have a remarkable Speech recorded in *Camden*'s *Annals* of one of the Czars of *Moſcovy*, when that Country was thought to be over-ſpread with Ignorance and Barbariſm: which is mentioned by the Reverend and Ingenious Mr Smith in his *Memoirs of Wool*, Vol. I. p. 114. *viz.*

"Theodore Joannides ſucceeding to the "Empire, granted to all Merchants, of what "Nation ſoever, free Acceſs into *Ruſſia*. And "being oftentimes ſolicited by the Queen "[Elizabeth] to confirm the Privileges "granted by his Father to the *Muſcovia* Com-

" pany of *Engliſh* Merchants, To wit, That " only *Engliſh* Men of *that Company* ſhould " come into, or trade in the North Parts of " *Ruſſia*, and that Cuſtom-free, in Regard " they were the Firſt that diſcovered the Paſ- " ſage thither by Sea: He thereupon deſired " her to give Liberty to *all* the *Engliſh* to trade " into *Ruſſia*; For to permit ſome and deny " others, was an Injuſtice. Princes, ſaid he, " muſt carry an indifferent Hand between " their Subjects, and not convert Trade " (which by the Law of Nations ought to " be common to *all*) into a *Monopoly*, to the " private Gain of a *few*. As for his Cuſtoms, " he promiſed to exact leſs by one half of " that Company than of the reſt; becauſe " they Firſt diſcovered the Paſſage thither by " Sea. In other Matters he confirmed their " former Privileges, and added ſome few " more, out of his Reſpect to the Queen, " and *not* for *any Deſert*, as he ſaid, of the " Company; many of whom he found had " dealt *falſly* with his Subjects."

XVIII. BUT when an excluſive Grant is once obtained, It muſt be defended by ſome kind of Arguments, however weak and inconcluſive. Now the *Turky* Company was firſt erected, and afterwards eſtabliſhed in ſuch Times, when the Principles of Trade, and the Nature of the Landed and Commercial Intereſts of a Kingdom were not underſtood;—or if underſtood, not ſufficiently regarded:—In ſuch Times, when Monopolies

and Excluſions carried all before them. Of the Truth of which Aſſertion, we need only conſult RYMER's *Fœdera*, and the common Hiſtorians for the Reigns of Queen ELIZABETH, King JAMES I. and King CHARLES I. to find ſufficient Evidence; many of which Monopolies were again renewed by King CHARLES II. —And at the Time of the *Revolution*, were grown too powerful to be attacked with Safety.

FOR as to *Foreign Trade*, There was an excluſive Company to *Hamburgh* and the *Baltic*, —to *Moſcovy* and *Greenland*,—to *Germany* and *Flanders*,—to *France*,—to *Spain* and *Portugal*, —to *Italy*,—and to *Africa*.

SPECIAL *Licences* were alſo to be purchaſed for the *Importation*, or Sale of Madder, Logwood, Deal Boards, Wine and Tobacco: —Likewiſe for the *Exportation* of Corn, Leather, and Butter:

AND 2*dly*, as to our DOMESTIC COMMERCE, there were *Pre-emptions* or Monopolies for Tin, Salt, and Coals: Excluſive Patents for Sea-Weed, Kelp, and Glaſs,—Salt-petre and Gunpowder,—Soap and Starch,—Gold and Silver Lace,—Beaver Hats and Demi-Caſtors, —Dying and Dreſſing of Cloth,—Making of Allum,—and even for Gathering of Rags.

SPECIAL *Licences* were alſo neceſſary to be obtained for making Iron and cutting down Wood for Charcoal, — making of Butter Caſks, — uſing of Wine Caſks for Ale and Beer;—alſo for making of Malt,—and Brewing of Ale for public Vent.

MOREOVER

MOREOVER the Gardeners for ſix Miles round *London* were incorporated into an excluſive Company, as were alſo the Traders and Artificers within the Diſtrict of three Miles.

NOW all theſe Monopolies and Excluſions (and many more might be enumerated) ſet out with pompous Titles, and great Profeſſions of Zeal for the Public Welfare. "They were all "eſtabliſhed, either for the Encreaſe and good "Government of Trade.—Or to keep up the "Credit of the *Engliſh* Manufactures in fo-"reign Markets,—or for preventing the Ig-"norant and Unwary from being impoſed "upon at home."—But the true Reaſon of their Eſtabliſhment remains yet to be told, *viz.* JOBB and MONOPOLY. This was the Æra, in which the *Turky* Company had its Birth and Education. And all the others, while in Being, had juſt the ſame Pretenſions of Public Good to alledge in their Favour: But Time has ſhewn, That we are much happier without them.

XIX. As *London* is the Capital of the *Britiſh* Empire, and the *Center* of the Body Politic, every Acceſſion of Wealth, Trade, Manufacture, Navigation, and Numbers of Inhabitants to other Parts of the Kingdom, muſt redound to the Advantage of the Metropolis. For the *Center* in the Body Politic is like the *Heart* in the natural Body, which receives Benefit itſelf by the briſk and regular Circulation of Blood in the Extremities. But if any one ſhould doubt of this Parallel, let

Experience and Matter of Fact determine. For when almoſt the whole Trade of the Kingdom was circumſcribed by excluſive Grants, and thoſe Monopolies confined to the ſingle City and Port of *London*, this City made a very mean and inconſiderable Appearance, to what it doth at preſent: But in Proportion, as the inland Counties, and the Out-Ports began to ſhake off ſome of their Fetters, and extend their Commerce, in the *ſame Proportion*, did the Metropolis encreaſe in Wealth, and Grandeur, Number of Inhabitants and Extent of Buildings. In ſhort, if there was an Acceſſion of Wealth to the fartheſt Iſles of *Scotland*, it would, ſooner, or later, find its Way to *London*.

XX. Upon the whole therefore, The Continuation of this excluſive Company is no other, in Effect, than the Payment of a very large *Tribute* annually to *France*;—Together with this mortifying Reflection, That this is a Tribute we are *not forced* to pay, but do it *voluntarily*; though we know, That ſome of her beſt Provinces are ſupported by it, ſome hundreds of Ships employed in the Navigation, and the Government enabled to turn the Wealth and Strength, acquired by our Indolence and Miſmanagement, to our own Deſtruction.

XXI. The *Landed* Gentlemen in their reſpective Counties are more particularly concerned to exert themſelves on this intereſting Occaſion; becauſe the Rents of Lands and

Houſes will be higher, and the Demand for the Produce of Eſtates, Corn, Wool, Sheep, Cattle, Butter, Cheeſe, Wood, Coal, *&c. &c.* will be greater, in Proportion as the Inhabitants of any Country do increaſe in Numbers, Riches, and Manufactures. The Poor alſo will be leſs numerous, as there is more Employment, — the Weight of Taxes will be lighter, when more Perſons ſhare in the Burden,—and the Tenants, by having better Markets, will be better able to pay their Rents. But theſe Advantages cannot be obtained, while the preſent Difficulties, which prevent Induſtry and ſtop the Circulation of Labour, are ſuffered to remain.— ☞ In one word, All Monopolies are ſo many COMBINATIONS againſt the *Landed Intereſt*. And the more violently they are contended for, the more clearly may the Gentlemen of Landed Property diſcern, Whoſe Intereſt is promoted, and whoſe is ſacrificed.

XXII. THE preſent Juncture ſeems the moſt favourable for renewing our Applications to Parliament, to be delivered from theſe Fetters and Oppreſſions. For We have no Reaſon to conclude, That We ſhall meet with any Oppoſition, but from thoſe, whoſe Self-Intereſt is an unhappy Bias on their Judgments. And as a general Election is approaching, all Perſons and Parties may have an Opportunity of acquiring a *laudable Popularity*, by diſtinguiſhing their Zeal in ſo NATIONAL a CAUSE.

N. B. The ſooner an Application is made to Parliament, before it is encumbered with a Multiplicity of Buſineſs, and while the Houſe is *full*, the greater Probability of obtaining Redreſs. It was chiefly for want of attending to theſe neceſſary Circumſtances, That ſuch Attempts to extend our National Commerce, and break through Excluſions, have hitherto failed of their deſired Succeſs.—The principal Points to be proved at the Bar of both Houſes, are the following:

1. That the *Engliſh* Manufacturers can rival the *French Turky* Cloth;
2. That the Port of *London* is the deareſt in the Kingdom, both for Exporting and Importing of Goods;
3. That not only Woollens, but almoſt all other Parts of a Cargo to the *Levant*, can be purchaſed on cheaper Terms in *England*, than at *Marſeilles*;
4. That Freight and Inſurance are very high at *Marſeilles*, as is alſo the Intereſt of Money;
5. That the excluſive Powers of the *Turky* Company, by reſtraining and leſſening the *Exports* of *Engliſh Manufactures*, leſſen the Labour, and of Courſe the Wealth, Power, and Navigation of Great Britain.—And by leſſening the *Imports* of foreign *raw Materials*, greatly obſtruct the Manufactures of thoſe Materials.

An APPENDIX *to the second Edition of the foregoing Pamphlet.*

SOme time after the Publication of the above Pamphlet, a laudable and generous Reſentment began to appear againſt the monopolizing Practices of the *Turky* Company. Several hundred Pounds were raiſed by voluntary Subſcriptions for applying to Parliament to open the Trade; the chief of which Money was raiſed in *Briſtol*, and moſtly from Perſons that acted wholly upon National Views, having no Deſire to engage in the Trade themſelves. *Liverpoole* likewiſe furniſhed a certain Proportion: And as to Petitions, without Money, all Places were ready enough to ſend them.

WHEN this Affair was to be brought before the Parliament, the firſt Endeavours of the Monopoliſts and their Friends were, To vilify and diſcredit the little Treatiſe, which had raiſed ſuch a National Spirit againſt them: One Advocate in particular was ſo witty in a public News-Paper as to call it a Three-penny Pamphlet: Another, in a more formal Stile, was pleaſed to inſinuate, That it was a Lie from Beginning to End: And all aſſerted in the moſt poſitive manner, That the Trade was under no Monopoly at all, and that the preſent low State of it ought to be aſcribed to other Cauſes.

IN reply to theſe angry Invectives, and poor Excuſes, the Friends to an Open Trade choſe to confute the Monopoliſts and their Advocates out of the very By-Laws and Regulations of their own Company, as being the fulleſt and moſt unexceptionable Evidence, and at the ſame Time the freeſt from perſonal Altercation. They therefore printed the Report of the Committee of the

Honourable Houſe of Commons, made in the Year 1744, when this Affair was laſt upon the Tapis: And by this Report, extracted from their own Books, it undeniably appears, That the *Turky* Company was intended to be a Monopoly at its original Inſtitution; and that their Aims have been, from time to time, to render this Monopoly ſtill more injurious to the Nation. As to the original Inſtitution, it was ſo narrow and contracted, that none but *mere Merchants* (Noblemens Sons excepted) could be admitted to be Members of this Society; and even they could not be received without a Fine of 50*l.* if above twenty ſix Years of Age, and 25*l.* if under. Now a *mere Merchant* is a Perſon, who doth not *ſell out* in leſs Quantities than he *buys in:* Or in other Words, He ſells in Groſs as he buys in Groſs; and, if you keep ſtrictly to this Idea, there are ſcarce ten *mere* Merchants throughout the Kingdom. Nay, the *Turky* Company thought proper to object to a Gentleman ſome Years ago, as not being a *mere* Merchant, only for having ſpared a Part of a Jar of fine eating Oil to his Friend out of a Parcel he had juſt imported: Judge therefore, whether this ſingle Article, even without taking the enormous Fine into Conſideration, was not enough to create a Monopoly: And if you add to this the Power of making By-Laws and reſtraining Regulations, what could be wanting to make it a moſt detrimental and oppreſſive Scheme? Therefore, if the Advocates for the *Turky* Company can call this a *free*, and *open* Trade, may we preſume to aſk, What do they mean by a *confined* one?—But the By-Laws of this Company are ſtill a farther Evidence of the Point in Queſtion: For as ſoon as the Company was well eſtabliſhed, they preſently erected their Batteries againſt National Induſtry, and National Proſperity. Thus, in the Year 1625 (which was but nineteen Years after their Erection) they made an Order of

General-Court, That no Manufactures or Commodities of the Kingdom ſhould be ſent to *Turky*, either directly or indirectly, in any but *joint Ships* to be appointed by the Company: But foreign Commodities, ſuch as Spices, Pepper, *&c.* were excepted from this Reſtraint, and allowed to be carried in what Shipping, and from what Place any Man pleaſed. Now the Reaſon for this particular Indulgence to foreign Commodities preferably to our own, was this,—The *Dutch* and other Nations could, and would ſupply the *Turks* with theſe Commodities at the cheapeſt Rate, if the Company did not; and therefore the Company were obliged to be as reaſonable in their Gains in reſpect to theſe things, as other People: But in regard to our own Manufactures, (the Labour and Induſtry of our People, and the Riches of a State) no Man dared to interfere with the Monopoliſts in that Branch of Trade; and therefore they reſolved to diſcourage the Exportation of *Engliſh* Manufactures as much as poſſible, in order to get an enormous Profit on ſmall Exports. Nay, as if they were afraid we ſhould be at a Loſs to know their Meaning, they explain themſelves in their By-Laws enacted two, three, and four Years afterwards, That they made theſe benevolent and patriotical Regulations with a View,—*To keep up the Price of* Engliſh *Manufactures in* Turky, *and of the Turkiſh raw Materials in* England. A double Bleſſing to the *Engliſh* Nation! And ſuch Bleſſings we are continually receiving from every excluſive Company! But ſee the Effects of theſe monopolizing Orders even in the *early* Times of our Commerce: For three Years afterwards, *viz.* in the Year 1633, ſome of the Company themſelves began to be alarmed at the Progreſs of the *French* and other Strangers, "who "taking Advantage (theſe are their own Words) "of our long Forbearance of ſending Ships and "Goods to the ſeveral Parts of *Turky*, began to

" ſupply thoſe Places with their own Commodi-
" ties; which will redound to the great Prejudice
" of the Company, and the Trade thereof, if ſome
" ſpeedy Courſe be not thought of for preventing
" it." But even this Remonſtrance produced little or no Effect; for the Deſire of preſent Gain operates ſo ſtrongly with every Monopoliſt, that he is quite regardleſs of Futurity; hoping, that he will have made his Fortune before the Evil can reach himſelf; and as to the Public, that was never his Concern. Accordingly we find, That general, and joint Shipping were the uſual Vehicles for carrying on this Trade; and even theſe were not always permitted to go out, and return *annually*; but ſometimes were reſtrained from making too frequent Viſits: Such were their Fears leſt the Nation ſhould get too rich by their Monopoly. And in this manner their Affairs were carried on (with now and then a Permiſſion for a *private* Ship to ſail) till we come to the fatal Year 1718, when a kind of Embargo was laid on all Manufactures intended for *Turky*, and all raw Materials intended for *England*; which continued for *two whole Years and a Quarter*. And that was the very Juncture in which the *French Turky* Trade made ſuch an amazing Progreſs: Indeed, well it might; For the *Engliſh* themſelves were the Cauſe of it. This Circumſtance is ſtrongly ſet forth in a Memorial of ſeven of the principal Members of the *Turky* Company to a Commitee of the Honourable Houſe of Commons in the Year 1718-19. *viz.* " The Remedy propoſed by theſe Reſtraints is,
" ☞ That Cloth may be bought the Cheaper
" at Home, and ſell the Dearer Abroad; and that
" [raw] Silk may be bought the Cheaper Abroad,
" and ſell the Dearer at Home." A noble Remedy truly! and a moſt *infallible Preſervative* againſt thoſe two great National Evils, Wealth and Induſtry! " But all this while, ſay the Memo-
" rialiſts, the *French* and *Dutch* are ENCOURAGED

"to ſupply the Woolen Trade abroad; and to "ſupply in a larger Degree the Silken Manufac- "tures at home. And our own Manufacturers, "in the mean time, both in Wool and Silk, are "ſo far deprived of their Employments.—But "ſhould the Merchant loſe [by exporting too "many *Engliſh* Manufactures, and importing too "great Quantities of raw Materials] yet the Na- "tion muſt gain.—It hath been farther objected, "That by a Delay more Cloth will be exported; "and ſo probably there may; ſhould the Ships "be yet detained twelve Months longer. — But "then the Company ſhould take Care to prohibit "the *French* and *Dutch*, and the *Turks* too, who, "at this very time, are carrying on a Cloth Ma- "nufacture of their own."

THE Reader by this time, I ſuppoſe, needs no farther Examples of the monopolizing Views of the *Turky* Company; and of the Aſſiſtance they have given thereby to the Trade of *France*. Indeed, the Obſervation is ſo obvious, that more Proofs, though many more there are, ſeem perfectly needleſs. Nor is the Strength of this Obſervation at all weakned by the Pretence which their Advocates have ſometimes urged, *viz.* That of late Years moſt of theſe reſtraining Orders have been revoked. For granting that they have; yet the *Power* which enacted them, was not revoked; and while the Power remained, what Security was there to the Individual, that it would not be exerciſed again, whenever the Company thought fit? In ſhort, the Fact was ſo glaring, and withal ſo ſhockingly detrimental to the public Welfare, that the Monopoliſts themſelves, and all their Advocates, were for once put to ſilence, and could no longer pretend, That the Trade to *Turky* was a *free* and *open* Trade.

BUT when the Proceedings and Powers of the Company could be no longer juſtified, they changed their *defenſive* into an *offenſive* War: For their

next Endeavours were to clog and embaraſs the Bill, that was deſigned to lay the Trade open. And here, alas! they have ſucceeded too well: For by Dint of Teazing, Perplexing, Objecting, Wrangling, *&c. &c.* they have made the Bill to carry the Appearance of a good Law, without the Eſſentials of it: So that, though ſome Good has been done by the late Act, yet it is very inconſiderable to what might have been expected. And the Friends to Liberty and the Freedom of Commerce had the Mortification to find, that the Oppoſition of a few, when ſtimulated by Self-Intereſt, acts with more Vigour and Unanimity, than the languid, tho' public-ſpirited Wiſhes and Deſires of many. As to the particular Objections to be made to this Bill, they need not be repeated here; becauſe they are ſet forth at large in * another Treatiſe, which, though not yet made public, is now in the Hands of many Perſons, and will ſoon be in many more. Let it ſuffice therefore at preſent to obſerve, That this Trade can never be ſaid to be truly free, till it is put upon the ſame Footing with that to *Italy*, *Spain*, or *Portugal*; and that every Plea which can be brought againſt laying it entirely open, would ſerve much ſtronger towards impriſoning thoſe Trades within the narrow Limits of a Monopoly. However, the Attempt that has been already made towards ſetting it at Liberty, may be conſidered as a Prelude to a future: And ſurely it is to be hoped, that a Time will come, when this, and all other Remains of our *antient Slavery* ſhall be aboliſhed; and when the *Engliſh* Nation will be as free in regard to Charters of Excluſion, and other Shackles upon Trade, as they happily are in reſpect of civil and religious Liberty.

But that nothing may remain unanſwered, if it hath even the Shadow of an Argument, I ſhall

* The Elements of Commerce, and Theory of Taxes, Part II. Chap. ii. Sect. 2.

not conclude, before I examine all that the Advocates for the Company have thought proper to ſay in their Vindication.

In the *firſt* Place therefore, They are pleaſed to aſſert, That the Increaſe of the *French* Trade, and Decreaſe of the *Engliſh*, is not owing to the Excluſions and Reſtraints of our *Engliſh* Company trading to *Turky*, but to other Cauſes, *viz.* The Dearneſs of *Engliſh* Labour, and the Cheapneſs of that of the *French*. And as this is their grand Plea, let us conſider it the more attentively.

Here therefore, the Reader will immediately obſerve, That this pretended Argument contradicts a known Fact: For Fact it is, and the Company's own Books are a Proof thereof, That the *French* Trade to *Turky* both *began*, and *encreaſed* in proportion as the *Engliſh* Company laid Reſtraints upon the Exportation of *Engliſh* Manufactures. Thus, in the Year 1633, *the long Forbearance* of ſending Ships and Cloth to *Turky* tempted the *French* to enter into that Trade: And in the Year 1720, the Exports from *France* became amazingly great: But why particularly in that Year? — The Reaſon is plain, *viz.* Becauſe our *Turky* Company had laid an Embargo on all Shipping intended for the *Levant* ever ſince the 26th of *March* 1718: which laſted for two Years and a Quarter. This being the Fact, to what purpoſe is it to attempt to reaſon againſt, or diſprove it?

But even allowing, That the *French* have ſome Advantages over us in regard to the Cheapneſs of their Manufactures, — What method of Procedure ought we to take? Not ſurely to give them ſtill greater Advantages by laying Reſtraints upon our own Trade, but to counter-balance them by exciting a general Rivalſhip and Emulation among ourſelves; ſo that all may work, ſell, export, and import for as little Profit as poſſible. The more therefore it is inſiſted upon, That the *French* work cheaper than the *Engliſh*, ſo much ſtronger is the

Reaſon againſt continuing any Reſtraints and Diſcouragements on the *Engliſh* Manufactures.

But is it true in Fact, That the *French* do work up their Goods cheaper than the *Engliſh?* Nay, can any Manufactures in Braſs, Iron, Steel, Copper, Lead, Pewter, Tin, *&c. &c.* be fabricated even *as cheap* in *France*, as they are in *England?* No; they cannot by at leaſt 20 *per Cent.* in many Articles: — And it is a Circumſtance not to be denied, That moſt of the Guns which the *French* carry to the Coaſt of *Guinea*, are made in the Neighbourhood of *Birmingham.* This being the Caſe in regard to all Branches of the *metal* Trade, let us now come to the Woollen.

In the *firſt* Place therefore, Though Spinning may be ſomewhat cheaper in *France* than in *England*, it doth not appear, that the Price of Weaving, Scribbling, Tucking, or Dying, is cheap in the ſame Proportion. And the Reaſon ſeems to be, becauſe theſe are conſidered as *Trades*, which are incorporated into Companies: And all Companies are much more ſtrict in *France* in preſerving what is falſely and abſurdly called their Privileges, than they are in *England.* This is a great Advantage, which we have over them: And it is growing greater every Day, becauſe we are now proceeding upon the opening, enlarging Scheme, and they upon the narrowing and contracting.

2. The Intereſt of Money is much lower in *England* than in *France:* So that a Maſter Manufacturer will be content with leſs Profits here, than he would there. For no Man would run the Riſks of Trade, and ſuffer its Fatigues, if he could get as much, or near as much, by living upon the Intereſt of his Money.

3. Our Capitals in Trade are much larger. — It is no uncommon Thing for a Manufacturer in *England* to have 20,000*l.* in Trade. But where is there an Example of the like kind to be met with in *France?* Nay, as ſoon as they get to

10,000*l.* is it not a common Practice with them to buy ſome *Charge*, in order to ennoble their Families, and ſo wipe off the Diſgrace of having been once uſeful to their Country? Now, this Circumſtance of the Largeneſs of our Capitals, together with the other of the low Intereſt of our Money, are ſufficient to over-balance a great many petty Diſadvantages. For that Man who hath a Capital of 10,000*l.* in Trade, in a Country where the Intereſt of Money is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* can, and *will* ſell his Goods cheaper than another, who hath only a Capital of 2000*l.* in a Country where the Intereſt is *6 per Cent.*—I ſay, he will ſell his Goods cheaper, even though he pays higher Wages to every Workman that he employs.

4. But *fourthly*, The Price of *common*, and *middling* Wool is much cheaper here than in *France*, eſpecially the South of *France*, where all the Cloth is made for the *Levant*. Now Wool is the firſt Material; and every Advance upon the raw Material, like an injudicious Tax, ſpreads thro' all Parts of the Manufacture, and increaſes as it goes. *Note*, The chief Conſumption of Cloth, in *Turky*, is that which is made from *common*, and *middling* Wool.

5. In Regard not only to the Price, but alſo to the *Preparing* of all Wools in general, the *Engliſh* greatly exceed the *French*. For the *French* uſe vaſt Quantities of *Caſtile* Soap in ſcouring the Wool from the Greaſe; which is not only a dear, but an improper, Method: Whereas the *Engliſh* have a cheaper, and a more effectual one; ſo that the ſame Quantity of Wool in the Greaſe ſhall produce more Cloth, of equal Fineneſs in *England*, than in *France*.

Upon the whole, therefore, the Pretence of the comparative Cheapneſs, or Dearneſs of Labour, is a mere Bugbear.—And, indeed, if it was a Reality, why ſhould that be a Reaſon for our putting our Trade under ſtill greater Diſad-

vantages, by Means of an exclusive Company? But the true State of the Case is really this: The *French* have invented a light, thin, hollow Cloth for a Summer Country, such as *Turky*; in this they excel: And the *English* have not yet been able to get into the *Knack* of imitating their Manner; nor is it likely, that they ever will, while the Trade is confined. But if it should ever be thrown open, and a proper Emulation raised among our Manufacturers, there is no Doubt to be made, but that our ingenious Workmen would rival them in this, as they have done in every other Branch of Manufacture, originally borrowed from them. In the mean Time, the Candid and Judicious will forgive a well-meant Hint of the Author, *viz.* That if our fine Flannels were a little thickened in the Mill, well dressed, and dyed in bright Colours, they would be regarded as the true *French* Cloth, so much bought up in *Turky*, and might be sold much cheaper than the *French* Cloths now are.

II. The *second* Plea of the Advocates of the Company is rather a Cavil against others, than an Apology for themselves, *viz.* "If the Out-"Ports could send Cloth to *Turky*, were the "Trade open, Why do they not send Cloth at "present to *Spain* and *Portugal*, where they are "at full Liberty?" I call this a *Cavil*; because it is a *wilful* Misrepresentation of a plain Case. For, the Advocates for the Company must know, That the Exporters of Cloth from *London*, to *Spain* or *Portugal*, have no exclusive Privilege whatever; and therefore are, in no Respect, in a parallel Situation with the Exporters of Cloth to *Turky*. How then can you reason from the one Case to the other? Or what Analogy is there between them? In Fact, the *London* Merchants, trading to *Spain* and *Portugal*, being all independent of each other, and knowing that every Man in the Kingdom may be their *Rival*, when-

ever he pleaſes, do not keep up their Goods at an exorbitant Rate, but are content with moderate Profits, endeavouring to find their Account rather in the *Quantity* exported, than in the *Dearneſs* of the Price. And the Conſequence is, That very few of the Merchants, in the other Ports of the Kingdom, will venture to commence their Rivals; becauſe they do not expect, That the Profits in this *free Trade* are very large; and moreover, becauſe they are ſure, That they cannot get Footing in any *new Trade* without a large Expence, which Expence will be ſtill heightened by the Difficulties and Diſcouragements, which all the old Stagers will caſt in their Way. Now this Reaſoning is confirmed by a remarkable Circumſtance here at Home: For, though the *natural* Advantages of *Newcaſtle* are much greater than thoſe of *Birmingham*, in Regard to Naileries, and other Branches of the Iron Manufacture; yet, as *Birmingham* is a *free* and *open* Town, and the Trade long ſettled, the Inhabitants of *Newcaſtle* have not been able to rival *Birmingham* in any one Article. But if you will ſuppoſe ten, or twenty People at *Birmingham*, inveſted with an excluſive Charter (which muſt be the Caſe to make it parallel to the *Turky* Company) and the Inhabitants of *Newcaſtle* all free and independent, I aſk, How long do you think it would be before the Trade would move? And, what Grounds are there for ſuppoſing, That the Inhabitants of *Newcaſtle*, and other Places, would not take the Advantage of ſuch a Circumſtance?— It is therefore very diſingenuous in a certain Gentleman, to ſay no worſe, to pretend to propheſy, That the Merchants in the Out-Ports would not enter into the *Turky* Trade;—when the ſame Perſon, who uttered this Prophecy, did all in his Power to prevent them, by rendring the Bill, in a great Meaſure, ineffectual; and by confining the Trade to the Port of *London*, thro' the Means of the Powers ſtill ſubſiſting in the Governors of the Company.

HOWEVER, it is better to have a bad Bill, than none at all. For a bad Bill is eaſily mended, but the Obtaining a perfectly good one, all at once, is a Work of great Difficulty. And as every Advance *toward* Liberty is ſo much gained, therefore it renders an Oppoſition, on the next Occaſion, ſo much the weaker. In a word, Mankind begin to ſee more and more into the baſe and ſlaviſh Original, and preſent iniquitous Chicane of all excluſive Charters; nor will they be led blindfold much longer by thoſe, *whoſe Intereſt it is to deceive them.* As to the above-mentioned Prophecy, the Event has ſhewn, That it is (like Fortune-telling in other Caſes) partly true, and partly otherwiſe: For ſome, in different Parts of the Kingdom, have made themſelves free of the Company ſince the late Bill, but not many; the Reaſons of which I have aſſigned before. But thoſe who have, ſeem to agree ſo well with their *elder* Brethren of the Company, that, I believe, they would not be found the moſt ſanguine in the farther Opening of the Trade; it being too juſt a Remark, That the Perſon, who cries the loudeſt for Opening the Door, in order that himſelf may enter in, is ſometimes the *readieſt to ſhut it againſt thoſe who would come after him.* But, nevertheleſs, if the Trade ſhould ever be *thoroughly* opened, we have at leaſt as much Reaſon to believe, That, *in a Courſe of Years*, the Merchants of the Out-Ports would become as conſiderable Traders to *Turky*, as they are at preſent in the Trade of *Ruſſia*. For when that Trade was firſt laid open to the Degree it is (though by-the-By it is not quite ſo free as it ought to be) the Merchants of the Out-Ports did not ruſh into it immediately, but came in by Degrees: And ſo from ſmall Beginnings they have gradually increaſed, till at Length they have more than doubled the Trade of the Metropolis; —and they are ſtill advancing every Day.

FINIS.

TWO

DISSERTATIONS

On certain PASSAGES of

Holy Scripture,

Viz. the FIRST

on LUKE xiv. 12, 13, 14.

And the SECOND

on ROM. xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Wherein the Cavils and Objections of the late Mr. CHUBB, in the First Volume of his Posthumous Works, *viz. Remarks on the Scriptures*, are particularly considered and refuted.

By *JOSIAH TUCKER*, A. M.

Vicar of *All Saints* in *Bristol.*

LONDON,

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[Price One Shilling.]

TO

THE HONOURABLE

Sir Michael Foſter,

One of the Juſtices of his Majeſty's Court of King's Bench.

PERMIT me, Sir, to addreſs the following Diſſertations to you, in Teſtimony of that Eſteem you have ſo worthily acquired in your publick Capacity, and of my Gratitude for perſonal Favours. In doing this, I ſhall not preſume to ſhelter myſelf under your Authority in order to protect any Thing I have advanced, where Truth

Truth and Reaſon will not ſupport it. All that I can promiſe myſelf is, that the prefixing your Name may recommend the Performance to a more *candid* Reading, and happily ſcreen it from thoſe Cenſures which Prejudice is too apt to throw out againſt every *new Method* of treating a Subject, and every *new Argument* upon its *firſt* Appearance.

It is almoſt the peculiar Privilege and Bleſſing of *Engliſhmen* to deliver their Sentiments freely on Subjects of Importance: A Privilege *particularly valuable in religious Matters.* And though I would not be ſuppoſed to harbour a Thought tending towards a Deſire of abridging Mankind of any of their Liberties civil or religious; yet, I think, I may very conſiſtently and earneſtly wiſh, that they would

make

make a better Uſe of them than too many among us, to their Shame be it ſpoken, now do. As to the ſacred Text itſelf, I am fully perſuaded, that though it may ſometimes ſuffer through *Miſrepreſentation* and *Calumny*, it will at length ſhine forth with diſtinguiſhed Luſtre, and ſhew itſelf more and more in the Eyes of every impartial Examiner to be the *Wiſdom* of God, and the *Power* of God.

With Reſpect to the *latter* of theſe Diſſertations; the Subject of it muſt be perfectly agreeable to every Perſon of your Sentiments, to every one who is a true Friend to the juſt Rights and Liberties, the Peace and Tranquillity of Mankind. I only wiſh, that I had been able to have done ſo much Juſtice to it, as would have rendered the Performance more worthy

thy of your Patronage. Such as it is, I ſubmit it to your Judgment, and that of the Public: And am, with great Regard,

Honoured Sir,

Your moſt obliged,

and moſt obedient,

Humble Servant

JOSIAH TUCKER.

INTRODUCTION.

MR. *Chubb*, in his late *poſthumous* Works, has planned out a *Scheme* to introduce *Infidelity* the more effectually, by attempting to *diſcredit* the *Soundneſs* and *Reaſonableneſs* of the *Chriſtian Morals:* which the thinking Part of the World have looked upon to be very ſecure from Attempts of this Nature, when they *conſidered*, that they were *better* than thoſe of any *other* Inſtitution, and truly calculated for the *Good of Mankind*. Mr. *Chubb* was not *inſenſible* of the *Influence*, which this Argument would *always* have with the moſt *conſiderate* Men in *Favour* of *Chriſtianity*. He plainly ſaw, that this alone, unleſs it could be *removed*, would more than *counterbalance* all the *Difficulties* he could raiſe in *Speculation*. *Metaphyſical* Subtleties and *laboured* Objections are not a *Match* againſt Arguments ſuppoſed to be *grounded* on *Fact* and *Experience*. Therefore he uſed all his

Efforts to *diſprove* the Notion, that the Chriſtian Morals *deſerved* to be ſo much *eſteemed*, and to be *preferred* above *others*. This was a Taſk he was obliged to undertake. The *Cauſe* of *Infidelity called* upon him to do it. And it muſt be allowed, that the Method he propoſed was well deviſed, and *artful* enough. But how he *ſucceeded*, I hope, the following Pages will ſufficiently ſhew: His *Aim* was, to *repreſent* the *Chriſtian Morals* either as containing *no more* than any other Syſtem did; or elſe as conſiſting in *certain Peculiarities*, which were utterly *falſe*, *irrational*, or *abſurd*.

This was an *home* Charge: And I have waited to ſee, whether it would call forth the Zeal of ſome abler Perſon to take the Cauſe in hand, and to reſcue the Oracles of God from Mr. *Chubb's* groſs *Miſrepreſentations* of them. [a] One at Length appeared, whoſe Succeſs againſt Mr. *Chubb* in his *Life-time*, gave me the greater Hopes, that his engaging to anſwer the

[a] Mr. *Caleb Fleming*, a Diſſenting Miniſter, I ſuppoſe.

poſthu-

posthumous Works of his Adversary, would have superseded any Attempt of mine. But whether it was, that he *designedly* checked the Vigour of his Mind against an Antagonist, who now could reply no more; or whether some of these Subjects were such, as he had not given so particular an Attention to (for no Man is Master of all Subjects alike) Whatever was the Cause, yet so, I think, it was, that his Reply to these posthumous Works, did not carry with it that Author's usual Strength and Clearness.

I have therefore put together the hints I had minuted, and the Observations I first made on the Occasion; and now submit them to the Judgment of the Publick. One thing I must advertise my Reader of, that tho' I do not pretend to answer Two whole Volumes in *Octavo*; yet I conceive, I have selected the very *Flower* and *Strength* of Mr. *Chubb's* Objections to *combat* with, in the following Dissertations. And if I have confuted *them* to the Reader's Satisfaction; he may conclude, that *all* the rest are no ways *considerable*, but for their Numbers. Not to mention, that the *far major* Part of these remain-

remaining Objections, are in fact no Objections againſt *Revelation*, (though he *deſigned* them ſo) but againſt the *Religion* of *Nature* itſelf, againſt the *Attributes* and *Moral Government* of God, and the *Duty* of Man, as a *reaſonable*, *ſocial*, and *dependent* Creature.

DISSER-

DISSERTATION I.

LUKE xiv. 12, 13, 14.

Then ſaid he alſo to him that bad him, When thou makeſt a Dinner or a Supper, call not thy Friends, nor thy Brethren, neither thy Kinſmen, nor thy rich Neighbours; leſt they alſo bid thee again, and a Recompence be made thee. But when thou makeſt a Feaſt, call the Poor, the Maimed, the Lame, the Blind: And thou ſhalt be bleſſed; for they cannot recompenſe thee: For thou ſhalt be recompenſed at the Reſurrection of the Juſt.

NOW againſt this Precept or Injunction of our Lord Mr. *Chubb* has been pleaſed to raiſe various Cavils and Objections; which I will endeavour to ſum up, and methodize, ſo as to preſent them to the Reader in their *full* Strength. For I do not think it is conſiſtent with Honeſty to conceal or diſguiſe the Force of any Part of an Objection, to which we pretend to give a full Anſwer.

1. Mr. *Chubb* ſets forth, that this Injunction is *one* of thoſe which is *peculiar* to the *Chriſtian Religion*. He goes on arguing to this Effect: That if the Rich had only been commanded to relieve the Poor and Neceſſitous in a *Way ſuitable* to their *Stations* and *Conditions*, the Precept would have had nothing in it *different* from the Morals of *many other* Inſtitutions. But what particularly *diſtinguiſhed* it, and made it a *Chriſtian Precept*, was, the being *obliged* to *call* in the *Poor*, the *Maimed*, the *Lame*, the *Blind* to our Tables, to the *Excluſion* of our own *Relations* our *Friends*, and *Equals*.

2. That this Injunction ought to be taken in the *literal* Senſe; becauſe it is a *plain Direction* about making a Feaſt, where *Rules* are laid down, and *Reaſons* given, *who* ſhall be *invited* to the Feaſt, and *who* ſhall *not*. Therefore the Paſſage before us can admit of no *Loftineſs* of Language, but muſt be underſtood, according to the *natural* and *obvious* Meaning of the Words, without *Figures* or *Hyperboles*.

3. As the Injunction is a *peculiar* and *diſtinguiſhing* Injunction, whereby the *Chriſtian Religion* is made to differ from *all* others; for *that very Reaſon* it ſhould be obeyed *literally* by *all* thoſe, who *acknowledge* Chriſt as their *Maſter* and *Lawgiver*. For though, ſays he, a *proper* Obedience paid to *other* Laws, grounded on *other* Principles, may con-

conſtitute a *good Man*; yet it is a *ſtrict* Adherence to thoſe Laws, that are *peculiarly* Chriſtian, which conſtitute a *good* or true *Chriſtian*, when a *good Chriſtian* is contradiſtinguiſhed from a *good Man*. Yet,

4. The *Abſurdity* of this Precept, in the *literal* Senſe of it, is ſo *palpable* and *glaring*, that *no Manner* of Regard is paid to it, not only by the *thoughtleſs* Multitude, but alſo by the *Learned*, the *Sober*, and the *Sagacious*, and even by thoſe who pretend to have obtained *Patents* from Heaven for being *Maſters* and *Uſhers* in Chriſt's School. A *Compliance* with ſuch a Precept would be very *improper* and *irrational*; becauſe it would promote the Happineſs of neither *Rich*, nor *Poor*; not of the Rich, as it would *debar them* of one of the *greateſt* Enjoyments in Life, the *Company* and *Converſation* of their *Relations*, *Friends*, and *Equals*; not of the *Poor*, as it would be much more *agreeable* to *them* to dine *among themſelves*, according to their *own Way*, without *Reſerve*, than to partake of the Tables of the Great, to whoſe Modes and Manners they are not *accuſtomed*. Therefore the Precept meets with an *univerſal* Diſregard and Noncompliance. Even a Right Reverend, or a Moſt Reverend Father in God, and in *Chriſt Jeſus* our Lord, *ſcruples not* every Day to act *quite contrary* to this Injunction: He invites his Friends and rich Neighbours to partake of his Entertain-

ments, and *excludes* the *Poor*, the *Maimed*, the *Lame*, and the *Blind*, from being *present with him at the Table* on those Occasions.

This is the Sum of what Mr. *Chubb* has advanced, and, I flatter myself, the Reader will easily believe, that I have done him Justice. His Objections have *lost nothing* of their *Force* and *Strength* in passing through my Hands. And yet I hope to prove, to the Reader's full Satisfaction, that ALL Christians at this Day are so far from living in a *continued* Disobedience to this Injunction of their *Lord* and *Master*, that they render a *better* and more *perfect* Obedience to it, according to the true *Spirit* and *Meaning* thereof, than perhaps to many *other* of his Commands.

Words and Phrases *relative* to Modes, Customs, and Opinions *wholly different* from our own, are not to be explained or commented upon, without a *previous* Enquiry into such Modes, Customs, or Opinions. This ought to have been Mr. *Chubb's* Rule; And I take it, his *Capital* Error arose from not observing it. He reasoned upon the Passage according to his *modern* Ideas of the Nature of Feasting and Entertainments; and so *imposed* both upon himself, and others. I will endeavour to *supply* his *Omission*, by presenting the Reader with such a *previous* State of the Case, as, I hope, will enable him to judge, not according to the *Turn* of his *modern* Ideas, but according to the *true State*

of Things, as it *then* was, when the Words were ſpoken.

Let us therefore conſider the *Diſpoſition* of *Mind* thoſe Perſons were in, to whom theſe Words were *originally* addreſſed. In ſo doing we *diveſt* ourſelves of the *Prepoſſeſſions* ariſing from the Modes and Cuſtoms of our *own Times*, and place ourſelves in that *right* Poſition, which is *neceſſary* to ſee the Subject in its *true* Light. Now the Perſon who invited our Lord was a *Phariſee*; and probably all the reſt of the Company were *Phariſees* likewiſe; as it is well known, that they choſe always to aſſociate together, and had a ſovereign Contempt for others. What therefore we have to do, is to conſider the *Sentiments* of the *Phariſees*, and, through them, of the *much greater* Part of the *Jewiſh* Nation, as far as it may *throw* a *Light* on the preſent Subject.

In the firſt Place, the *Phariſees* had a general *Expectation* of a *temporal*, *victorious Meſſiah*. Indeed the whole Nation had their Heads *turned* with the Notions of the *ſecular* Power, and *earthly* Pleaſures, which they were to *enjoy* under *this Reign*. And the Words of *John* the *Baptiſt*, which he put into the Mouths of his Diſciples, when he ſent them to *Jeſus* (undoubtedly not for *his own* Conviction but for *theirs*) are very *expreſſive* of the *State* and *Temper* of *Mind* the *Jews* were in at *that Seaſon*; viz. *Art*

thou he that ſhould come? Or do we look for another. The *Jews* in general, as I obſerved before, were *looking out* every Day, as it were, with great *Eagerneſs* for him *that ſhould come.* And the *Phariſees* put this very Queſtion to our Saviour, *when the Kingdom of God ſhould come?* To whom he anſwered in *ſuch* a *Manner*, as ſufficiently *informs* us concerning the Notions, then *entertained* of the State and Nature of the *Meſſiah's* Kingdom; viz. *The Kingdom of God cometh not with Obſervation:* Or as it is in the Margin of our Bibles, *with outward Shew.* The Original implies both the one and the other. They *obſerved*, they *watched*, *when* it ſhould *appear*; becauſe they expected, it would appear with all poſſible *Eclat* of *outward Shew*; ſo that they might ſay, when they *deſcryed* it *coming*, *Lo here!* or *Lo there!*

After mentioning theſe Particulars, we need not wonder, that the Apoſtles ſhould have a Strife among themſelves, *who ſhould be the Greatest.* For as they looked upon *Christ* in the Light of being that *Meſſiah*, who was to *reſtore the Kingdom to Iſrael*, it was natural for them to *puſh* their *Interest*, as *Courtiers* do, as far as they could. I might yet add many *other* Particulars in *Confirmation* of the Point here advanced. But what I have ſaid, I hope, will be ſufficient. And the reſt I ſhall reſerve for the II. *Diſſertation*; with which Subject, I conceive, they have a very

very *particular* Connection. A *temporal* Kingdom then, with ALL it's Conſequences of *worldly Riches*, *Pleaſures*, and *Delights*, was the *Ground* of their *Expectations*, and the *Foundation* of all their *Hopes*. Such a *miſtaken Principle* to ſet out with, could not fail in the *Sequel*, of begetting in them many *extraordinary* Miſtakes of a *practical* Nature.

Wherefore 2dly this will lead us to obſerve, in *what Manner* they were drawn into the Miſtake of ſuppoſing, that they were to be *treated*, and to *treat* one another with *elegant* and *continual* Feaſtings under the Reign of their *Meſſiah*. For as they wholly took their *Patterns* and *Ideas* of his *Court* and *Kingdom* from the *Modes* and *Cuſtoms* of *earthly* Princes, it need not ſeem *ſtrange* to us, that they *expected* to partake of the *ſame kind* of Pleaſures and Entertaiments, which *other Courtiers* did; only in a much *higher* Degree. If any one can doubt, whether they had any ſuch Notion of *Corporeal* Feaſting; the very Words ſubſequent to the Paſſage now in Diſpute, may ſerve to convince him, viz. *And when one of them that ſat at Meat with him, heard theſe Things, he ſaid unto him, Bleſſed is he that ſhall eat Bread in the Kingdom of God.* *The Kingdom of God* was a *ſynonymous* Term for the *Kingdom of the Meſſiah*; and the *eating Bread* is an *Eaſtern* Phraſe for a Repaſt or Entertain-

ment, whether *ſumptuous*, or otherwiſe. The Goſpels alſo have furniſhed us with many Hints, whereby we may gather, to what a *Pitch* they expected their Spirits were to be *exhilarated*, and their *Rejoycings* to riſe on that Occaſion. Particularly the *Beatitudes* of our bleſſed Lord do really ſhew by Way of *Contraſt*, what were their *Notions* and *Opinions*. They expected, and indeed it was natural enough for them ſo to do upon *their Principles*, to be in the *higheſt* Glee of Spirits, when *Partakers* at ſuch Entertainments. *Poverty* of *Spirit*, they would have judged to have been *inconſiſtent* with the Rejoycings, which ought to take Place upon ſuch an Occaſion. And therefore they ſeemed to conclude, that a Perſon of this *Caſt* and *Temper*, could *not* be *bleſſed*; becauſe he could not ſufficiently *exult* over his Enemies, now *ſubdued* by the *coming* of the *Kingdom of God*. This was a Time to be *comforted* after their long *Mourning* and Sorrows: This was a *Seaſon* for *Mirth* and *Feſtivity*. [a] Wherefore our Lord, to *correct* theſe Errors, began his Beatitudes with ſaying, *Bleſſed* are the *Poor* in *Spirit*, for *theirs* is the *Kingdom of Heaven*. *Bleſſed* are they that *mourn*; for *they* ſhall be *comforted*. And the ſame Kind of Reaſoning, which, I have

[a] See Mr. *Blair's* excellent Paraphraſe on Chriſt's Sermon on the Mount, in his Firſt Vol.

ſhewn,

ſhewn, doth here take Place with regard to the *two firſt* Beatitudes, holds good with reſpect to all the reſt.

Such therefore being the Notions of the *Jews* and *Phariſees*, concerning the *perpetual* Round of Feaſtings and Mirth, which were to be enjoyed under the Reign of their *Meſſiah*; it is eaſy to infer, that *none* could be *admitted* to be preſent, but *Favourites* and *Great Men*, according to the *Practice* always obſerved in the *Courts* of *Princes*. Nay, it would have been but common Prudence in the Maker of the Feaſt, to invite *them*, and to *omit* the inviting of *others*, both as a *Recompence* might be made him (by which Means the Pleaſures of ſuch Good-fellowſhip would be continually kept up) and alſo as he might avoid the *giving Offence* to the *Great Men* and *Favourites* of the Court. Thus were the *Poor*, the *Maimed*, the *Lame*, and the *Blind* almoſt unavoidably *excluded* from ever being preſent at Entertainments of *this* Nature. But this is not all: For we may obſerve,

3. That this *deſpiſed* Claſs of Men were not only excluded, as being *unqualified* by their Station and Condition in Life from *participating* in ſuch Favours; but alſo for Reaſons ſtill more *perſonal* and *particular*. The whole Jewiſh Nation had conceived very *derogatory* Notions of God, as if he was a *capricious* Being, and lead by *blind*

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Affection to have his *Favourites* and *Fondlings*. And the *ſelecting* the Seed of Iſrael to be a *peculiar* People, ſeems to have been *miſapplied* by them to *countenance* ſuch a Notion. Their Views were too *narrow* and *contracted* for them to ſee, that Almighty God had a much more *general* Deſign in ſo doing, than what related to *themſelves only*. But as they had ſuch a contracted Notion, it ſpread and grew upon them: So that they ſeemed to think, they could *diſcern*, that God had *excluded* the *Poor*, the *Maimed*, the *Lame*, the *Blind* from being of the *Number* of his *Favourites*. The *Poor*, they thought, could *not* be in Favour with him; becauſe the *Law* had promiſed *all* temporal Bleſſings to ſuch, as he *approved of*. And therefore they judged the *Want* of them to be an *evident* Mark of God's *Diſpleaſure*. In ſhort, the Jews conſidered all *temporal Afflictions* as *Judgments* from Heaven. Hence it was, that our Saviour reproved the *uncharitable* Cenſure paſt upon thoſe *Galileans*, *whoſe Blood Pilate had mingled with their Sacrifices*: viz. *Think ye, that theſe Galileans were Sinners above all the Galileans*; *becauſe they ſuffered ſuch Things? I tell you nay.*

And as to the *Maimed*, the *Halt*, and the *Blind*: All theſe *Defects* were ſuch *Blemiſhes* of Body, that they inferred, the Perſons inflicted with them, were *marked out* as being

being *unacceptable* to the Deity. *Bodily Deformities* in many Caſes were a *Bar* againſt ſerving in the Office of the *Prieſthood:* And the *acceptable* Sacrifice was to be *without Spot or Blemiſh.* Moreover the Caſe of the Man born blind, intimates very ſtrongly, that the Jews did not conceive ſuch a Perſon to be upon a *Level* with others, as to the *Favour* of God: *Who hath ſinned; this Man, or his Parents, that he is born blind?* plainly implying, that they looked upon ſuch an Affair, as a *divine Judgment*, for ſome Cauſe or other, *executed* upon him. The *previous* State of the Caſe will be *completed* after we have obſerved,

4. That the Feaſts of the Antients, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*, were not, as ours are, merely of a *civil*, or a *ſocial Nature*; but had a *Reference* to the *Religion* of the Country, where they were, which was, as I may ſay, *interwoven* with them. The *Jewiſh* Feaſts were generally at the End of their Sacrifices; and at the Concluſion of the whole, there was a *religious* Ceremony of eating Bread and drinking Wine, together with a ſolemn *Prayer* and *Benediction.* This Cuſtom, as it was in itſelf both innocent and commendable, was applied by our Lord to *uſher in* an Inſtitution of his own, of a more ſacred Nature; viz. the *Holy Supper.* For the Scripture is very expreſs in obſerving, *that after Supper he took the Cup.*

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As to the Gentiles, it is well known, that they held moſt of their Feaſts in *Honour* of one or other of their *Idol* Gods. And their very *Sports*, *Plays*, and *Diverſions* were *dedicated* to the Purpoſes of their falſe Religion. Hence therefore appears the *Propriety*, as well as *Neceſſity* of St. *Paul's* Advice to the *Corinthians*, not to *partake* of thoſe Feaſts, which were of a *religious* Concern; becauſe this amounted, in *Conſtruction*, to a *tacit* Approbation of the Superſtitions and Idolatries of the Gentiles.

Enough, I think, has been ſaid, to prove, that the Feaſts of the Antients, whether Jews or Gentiles, had a *Reference* to the *Principles* of *Religion* of the *Country* where *they were*; and therefore, in this Reſpect, were greatly *different* from ours. Perhaps it may be further expected, that I ſhould attempt to prove, that the Feaſts of the Jews, particularly *this*, at which our Lord was preſent, were *deſignedly* and *avowedly* made *typical* of the *Nature* of the *Meſſiah's* Kingdom, according to the *Conceptions* and *Prejudices* of the Perſons *then* at the Entertainment. But this I will not take upon me to do. *One* Thing may be very *expreſſive* of *another*, and yet not deſignedly *typical* of it. The Conceptions and Notions of Men may have a very great *Influence* over their *Actions* and *Modes* of *living*, and may determine them to do *this* rather than *that*; and yet ſuch Actions or Modes of

of living may not be *intended* by them as *ſymbolical Repreſentations* of their *inward* Notions and Principles. Indeed they become in Effect what is *equivalent* thereto: and a Spectator might eaſily obſerve, that their *Actions* and *Behaviour* were *correſpondent* to, and *explanatory* of their *Opinions*. For when Men are *prepoſſeſſed* by one *Maſter Principle*, or *leading* Idea, this gives a *peculiar* Turn to their *whole* Converſation and Behaviour, and greatly *diſtinguiſhes* them from *others*.

The Jews of old, were a *remarkable* Inſtance of this: What filled their Heads, and poſſeſſed their Affections, was the Expectation of a *temporal* Meſſiah, and the *ſecular* Pomp and Pleaſures of his Court and Kingdom. And as the Time, when he was *to come*, was *juſt expiring*, they were *every* Moment looking out for his *Appearance*. And may we not reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they were making *Preparations* to receive him? Is it not highly probable, that they had begun to *cabal*, and to project their Schemes of *Intereſt* and *Ambition* one among another? If there was a Diſpute among the Apoſtles, *which of them ſhould be accounted the greateſt*, why ſhould we think, that *they* were *ſingular* in ſuch a Conteſt; ſeeing that *all others* had the *ſame* Motives, the *ſame* Prejudices of *Ambition* and *Self-Intereſt* to ſpur them on, that the Apoſtles had? [b] Nay we find in

[b] See Mr. *Blair's* Paraphraſe and Serm. on Mat. xx. 17.

Fact,

Fact, a *general* Notion prevailed, that the *Meſſiah* would *diſpenſe* with the *Rigour* of the *moral Part* both of the *Law* and the *Prophets*, in order to give the greater Scope to his *Subjects* and *Favourites* to *proſecute* their *Conqueſts*, and *enjoy* their *Pleaſures*. And ſurely ſuch Hints as theſe are the propereſt *Guides* for *tracing* the Nature of an Entertainment in a *Phariſee's* Houſe, and at a *Phariſee's* Table. What have we therefore more to do, but only to ſuppoſe, that theſe Perſons were *ſteddy* to, and *conſiſtent* with their *darling* Principle? And ſurely then we need not be at a *Loſs* to know, what was the *Nature* of a *Phariſee's* Entertainment at that *Juncture* of Time; eſpecially as it was upon the *Sabbath* Day, and moſt probably during the Feaſt of the *Dedication*. (Compare 22[d] Verſe of the preceding Chapter with *John* x. 22.

I hope therefore by this Time, a common *Engliſh* Reader is better able to judge of the Merits of the Cauſe, than when he firſt ſet out. He now may be ſuppoſed to have *got over* his Prejudices ariſing from the Ideas of *modern* Cuſtoms, and to ſee the Subject in its *original* and *true* Light. Long *Cuſtom* had renderd the Nature of the *Jewiſh Feaſting*, in many Reſpects, very *different* from ours; the Sentiments of this People concerning *Great Men* and *Court-Favourites* under the Reign of their *Meſſiah* were

were very *ſingular* and *extraordinary*; they had entertained moſt *diſadvantageous* Notions of the *Poor*, the *Maimed*, the *Lame*, and the *Blind*; a Set of *Wretches*, in their Opinion, *never* to be *introduced* into the *Favour* of their *Prince*: And if ſo, I would aſk, what more *ſeaſonable* and *proper*, all Things *ſo circumſtanced*, than this Injunction of our Lord, to *invite* the *Poor*, the *Maimed*, the *Lame*, and the *Blind*, [c] RATHER than *Friends*,

[c] Mr. *Chubb* was miſtaken in ſaying, that Friends and Equals were *abſolutely* excluded by this Injunction. And his Miſtake muſt ariſe from not knowing, or not attending to the *Idiom* of the Old and New Teſtament, where *negative* Particles, many Times, do not ſignify the *Excluſion* of *one* Thing, but only the *Preference* of *another*. Thus, *I will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice*, only implies, that *I will have Mercy rather than Sacrifice*. And here, the *Poor*, &c. are to be invited RATHER than others; as plainly appears from the Context in the preceding Verſes, where Directions are given for chooſing the *loweſt* Room, leſt a *more honourable* Man be bidden. A clear Indication this, that our Lord did not intend, that *honourable* Men ſhould *not* be bidden, nor even that they ſhould be placed *below* the Poor and Neceſſitous at ſuch Entertainments. He did not propoſe to *reverſe* the Order of *Society*, but only to *combat* a particular *wrong* Notion by a *particular* Method at a *Seaſon*, when ſuch *ſymbolical* Kinds of *Repreſentations* were eſtabliſhed by long *Uſe* and *Cuſtom*.

This appears to me a ſatisfactory Account. Thoſe who think otherwiſe, would do well in obliging the Chriſtian World with a *better*. For certainly the *Credit* of the *Chriſtian Morals* is very deeply *concerned* in this Affair. And let us turn the Conſtruction how we pleaſe, ſtill it will amount to this, that the Poor &c. ought

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Brethren, or rich *Neighbours?* A Feaſt of this Nature, at *that Juncture*, was a *virtual* Declaration, by Way of Contraſt to the Jews, that the *Diſciples* and *Subjects* of the *true Meſſiah* were all *Favourites* alike; and that there was no Difference to be put between Man and Man on account of their *outward* Circumſtances, and *bodily* Perfections or Blemiſhes. The *Jews* had long been accuſtomed to think, that God *was a Reſpecter of Perſons:* This Method was intended to ſhew, that he *was not*. And though ſuch a Method, as here related, ſeems *ſtrange* to us, yet it was a very *common* Thing among the Antients, and is continued among the *Eaſtern* Nations to this Day, to expreſs their Sentiments by *ſymbolical* Actions. A Scene, a Geſture, a Repreſentation, &c. was a *ſilent* Lecture, well underſtood, and equally *expreſſive* with the moſt *ſignificant* Language.

One Inſtance of this Nature there is recorded in the Goſpel, which has ſo great an *Affinity* with the Caſe before us, that I appre-

to be invited to our Tables RATHER than the *Rich* &c. Now if ſo, it muſt follow, that this is ſuch a *Peculiarity* in the Chriſtian Morals, as is not to be *defended* upon the Principles of ſound Reaſon; and nevertheleſs ought to be the *more carefully* obſerved by all *Chriſtians*, *becauſe* it is a *Peculiarity*; and yet is in Fact *never practiſed* by *any:* For none invite the *pooreſt* and *moſt miſerable* Objects RATHER than *others* to dine in *Perſon* with them. What a *Triumph* would this be to the Cauſe of Infidelity! and how juſtly might Mr. *C.* have exulted, were this the Caſe.

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hend the mentioning of it will both *corroborate* and *illuſtrate* the general Argument. It is the Ceremony of *waſhing* the Diſciples Feet. Now waſhing the Feet, it is well known, was a Circumſtance *peculiarly* relative to the *Cuſtom* the *Climate*, and the *Habit* of that Country. And it was looked upon as a piece of *Civility* in the Maſter of the Houſe to give Orders, that his Gueſts ſhould be ſo treated: But the Act itſelf was performed only by *menial* Servants. Shall we therefore enquire, how came it to paſs that our Lord *choſe* to do it in *Perſon?* This will ſoon appear, if we conſult the xiii of St. *John*, and compare it with the xxii of St *Luke* 24 verſe where we ſhall find, that the TIME when this Circumſtance happened, was juſt before the *Feaſt* of the Paſſover; and the OCCASION of it was, on Account of the *Diſpute* among the Diſciples, which of them ſhould be *accounted* the *greateſt*. At *ſuch* a time therefore, and on *ſuch* an Occaſion our Lord *riſeth from Supper and laid aſide his Garments, and took a Towel and girded himſelf: After that he poureth Water into a Baſon, and began to waſh the Diſciples Feet, and to wipe them with the Towel wherewith he was girded. So after he had waſhed their Feet, and had taken his Garments, and was ſet down again, he ſaid unto them, Know ye what I have done to you?* Do you know the *Moral* of this Action? ye who have juſt

been disputing, *who* should be accounted the *Greatest*, do ye consider the *Meaning* and *Intention* of this *Emblematical* Representation? *ye call me Master and Lord: And ye say well; for so I am. If I then your Lord and Master have washed your Feet, ye ought also to wash one anothers Feet.* If I give this Example in order to explain the Nature of the Religion I teach; ye ought to conform to it; and to endeavour to do all *mutual* good Offices one for another instead of disputing which should be accounted the *Greatest. For the Servant is not greater than his Lord: Neither he that is sent, greater than him that sent him.* Thus did the *true Messiah* explain the Nature of his Kingdom to his Disciples just before the Feast of the Passover. And he taught them the *same Lession*, which he had before inculcated to the Pharisees, when he saw how Ambitious they were of having the chief Seats at the Feast of the Dedication. Both these Instances of worldly Ambition proceeding from the same false Principle of a *Temporal* Messiah.

But to return: this Injunction of our Lord probably gave rise to the Institution of the *Agapæ*, or *Love-Feasts*, in the primitive Church; which were continued as long, as it was *particularly* necessary to counter-act the above false Notion of the *Jews*. Nay, in one Sense, the blessed Sacrament itself is a *perpetual* Memento of this Nature. For as

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that is the *only* Religious Feaſt now in uſe among us, whereby we diſtinguiſh ourſelves as Subjects of the *Meſſiah*, therefore Perſons of *all* Ranks and degrees, are *invited* to *partake* of it, the *Poor*, the *Maimed*, the *Lame*, and the *Blind*, as well as *others*. And when the *Symbols* are delivered to each Perſon, *particular* care is taken by the Words of the Inſtitution, eſpecially as practiſed by the *Church of England*, to inculcate the Important Doctrine, that God is *no Reſpecter* of Perſons, and that *every worthy Receiver* is equally acceptable to the *Meſſiah*. *The Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was given for* THEE, *preſerve* THY *Body* &c.

Such effectual care therefore having been taken to guard againſt entertaining any *derogatory* Notions of God, as if he was a Reſpecter of Perſons; the grand Queſtion now is, whether Chriſtians at *this Day*, are bound to conform to the *very Letter of the* Injunction in Feaſts and Entertainments, *ſuch* as *theirs*, which are merely of a *Civil* or a *Social* Nature? As to the *Meaning* and *Intention* of the Precept, we as readily allow, and as ſtrongly inſiſt upon the neceſſity of inculcating it *frequently* and *fervently*, as Mr. *Chubb*, or any Man living can poſſibly do. I repeat it therefore again, *Merely as Chriſtians, we are all Equals, all the Favourites of God thro' Chriſt Jeſus, who ſhed as much Blood for the*

Beggar as the Prince: And therefore we ſhall be finally rewarded, not according to our Titles and Stations either in Church or State, not according to our Bodily Blemiſhes or Perfections; But according to our inward and Spiritual Virtues, and the Improvements we reſpectively ſhall have made under the Advantages we poſſeſs in the Goſpel Diſpenſation. This is what we *ſtrenuouſly* inſiſt upon; and therefore cannot be charged with *ſwerving* from the true *Spirit* and *Intention* of the Precept. We further add, that *Charity* and *Benevolence* towards the *Poor*, *Condeſcenſion* and *Affability* towards our *Inferiors* are Duties *ſtrictly* enjoyned in the Goſpel, and *indiſpenſably* neceſſary to our *Acceptance* with God. Nor do we ſcruple to affirm, that Perſons ought to take the Greateſt Care leſt they ſpend too much of their *Time* and *Subſtance* upon their Pleaſures and Entertainments, which ſhould have been imployed im much *better uſes*, and leſt they *exceed* the Bounds of *Moderation* and *Sobriety* on theſe Occaſions. All this we both *allow*, and *inculcate* as ſome of the moſt *Eſſential* Parts of our Religion. But it by no Means appears, that it is *ſtill* a neceſſary Branch of our Chriſtian Duty to invite the Poor, the Maimed, the Lame and the Blind to dine in *Perſon at the Table* with the Rich, the Sound, and Healthy: Much leſs, that it is a *Crime* in us to invite thoſe of the

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ſame Rank and Condition with ourſelves; *viz.* our Equals, Acquaintance and Relations to our Entertainments. And the Reaſon is, that the Cauſe for the *Poſitive* or *literal* Part of this Injunction being now *removed*; the *Effect ceaſes* of Courſe. For, I think, it will be acknowledged, that there are not the *leaſt Traces* of ſuch a Notion, as the Scribes and Phariſees entertained of the *Meſſiah's* Kingdom, *remaining* among *any* Sect of Chriſtians at *this Day*. And it was upon the Strength of this that I aſſerted at the Beginning, that we Chriſtians were ſo *far* from living in a *Continued* Diſobedience to the true *Spirit* and *Meaning* of this Injunction, that on the contrary we paid a *better* and more *Perfect* Obedience to it than perhaps to many *other* of Chriſt's Commands. Indeed if there were a Body of People *tainted* with ſuch *Jewiſh* Notions, and holding *Religious* Feaſts agreeably to their *Plan* or *Syſtem* at a Time, when ſuch Actions by *Common Conſent* or *Cuſtom* were *expreſſive* of, and *conſequent* upon ſuch Opinions; If this were the Caſe, I grant it would have been expedient for our R. R. Fathers (as Mr. *Chubb* with an impious Sneer calls the Biſhops) to have *counter-acted* theſe Feaſts by Means of *others* of a *contrary* Tendency and Intention. But ſurely till ſuch a Sect *ariſes*, there can be no

need to *confute* their *falſe* Doctrines and Poſitions.

To bring a *Parallel* Caſe to this before us: When St. *Paul* delivered his Sentiments concerning the *particular* Dreſſes, which were moſt *modeſt* and *becoming* for both Sexes in *his Time*; the *Practice* and Cuſtom of the *Age* made it a *Duty* for all Good Chriſtians at that *Juncture*, to conform *literally* to his Rules and orders. But as the Habits of *different* Countries are *different*, and the Make or Faſhion of Apparel *changes* in length of Time, no Sober and Reaſonable Perſon at *this Day*, will pretend to aver, that our Men and Women are *bound* to be dreſſed as the *Corinthians* ought to be (to whom theſe Injunctions were given) but only that Perſons of both Sexes among us ſhould be *habited* in a *Modeſt* and *Decent* manner, agreeably to the *Faſhion* of the Country we *live in.* For this is the *True*, the *Standing*, the *Perpetual*, *Moral*, or *Spiritual* Meaning of the Apoſtle's Poſitive and *Temporary* Injunction. Juſt ſo it is with Reſpect to the Caſe before us: The Duties *formerly implied* by this Command of *inviting* the Poor *&c. rather* than the Rich, are *Duties ſtill*, and *ever* will be to the World's End. And the Vices and *falſe Opinions* condemned by it, are *now* and *ever* to be *condemned* and *abhorred.* But the

the *outward* Acts themſelves are no longer *Neceſſary* to expreſs theſe *Meanings* and *Intentions* by, ſeeing that the very *Cauſe* which firſt gave riſe to *that Part* of the Injunction, is now ſo *effectually* removed, that there are not the *leaſt Traces* of it *Remaining* at this Day.

DISSERTATION II.

ROM. xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Let every Soul be Subject to the Higher Powers. For there is no Power but of God: The Powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God: And they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation. For Rulers are not a Teror to good Works, but to the Evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have Praise of the same: for he is the Minister of God to thee for Good. But if thou do that which is Evil, be afraid: for he beareth not the Sword in vain: for he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him that doth Evil.

MR. *Chubb* has introduced his Reasonings upon this Passage in a long Note, Page 60. of his *Remarks on the Scriptures*; in which Note I think we may observe, that some Things are *implied*, and others directly *asserted*.

1. I think it is implied, That he looked upon the Doctrine of *unlimited* Passive Obedience

dience and Non-Reſiſtance, to be one of thoſe *Peculiarities*, which belong to the Chriſtian Religion, as *diſtinct* from all others; tho' ſuch a Peculiarity as did no *Credit* to it. Indeed he might have aſſerted in expreſs terms, more is the Pity, That certain Sects of [d] *Modern* Chriſtians were *weak* enough to *boaſt* of it, as a *Diſtinguiſhing* Mark of the Chriſtian Religion; tho', I hope, it will clearly appear, That they had no manner of *Countenance* from *Scripture* to aſſert ſuch a thing. And it is very unfair to tax the Chriſtian Religion itſelf, with all the *weak* and *Groundleſs* Notions, which *ſome* of its Members have *unhappily* endeavoured to *father* upon it.

But 2dly, Mr. *Chubb*, out of his great *Impartiality*, and his Readineſs to do Juſtice to *all* Parties, roundly aſſerts, That the *Abettors* of this Doctrine of *Unlimited Paſſive*

[d] I have ſaid *Modern* Chriſtians: For tho' the Antients fell into the *ſame* Error (as they did into other very *groſs* ones, witneſs the *Millennium* and *Infant Communion*) of *Unlimited Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*: Yet they did not *Ground* it upon the *ſame* Principles. The *Moderns* pretend to deduce their Proofs from this 13th Chap. to the *Romans*. But it is very remarkable, the Antients never once had *Recourſe* to this Chapter expreſsly upon ſuch an Occaſion. They put it upon the Footing, that the Chriſtian Religion is a *Suffering* Religion; and that they ought not to *reſiſt Evil*, but *appeal* to God, to whom only Vengeance belonged; *&c.* In this agreeing with our *Preſent Quakers*, who maintain the *Unlawfulneſs* of *ſelf-Defence* upon the very *ſame Principles*.

Obedience

Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance, may fairly lay Claim to the Authority of the Apoſtle St. *Paul* in the Paſſage to *vouch* for them; where, he thinks, he is plain, *expreſs*, and full to their Purpoſe.

For 3dly he obſerves, that the Argument uſed by Saint *Paul*, to *enforce* Obedience to thoſe in Power, and to *reſtrain* Reſiſtance to that Power, is, that all Power is *of* and *from* God: Thus it is the *Ordinance* of *God*; and therefore ought to be obeyed, and not reſiſted. Now, ſays he, if by Power being *of* and *from* God, and its being the *Ordinance* of God, if this be *in itſelf* a proper *Ground* or *Reaſon* for paying Obedience to that Power, and a Reaſon againſt reſiſting it; then the *Miſapplication* of that Power cannot poſſibly *cancel* an Obligation, that *wholly* ariſes from the *Origin* and *Foundation* of it.

4. As to that Part of the Paſſage, viz. *Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to the Evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? do that which is good, and thou ſhalt have Praiſe of the ſame. For he is the Miniſter of God to thee for Good*, &c. This he calls, *backing* the Argument for Obedience to thoſe in Power, and for Non-reſiſtance to that Power, by the Apoſtle's obſerving to the Chriſtian Converts at *Rome*, what *Benefits* he *preſumed* they received from it. That is, if I underſtand Mr. *Chubb* rightly, this *good Uſe* of their Power was *not* the

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Foundation of the Power of the Governours; For their Power was *ordained* of God *prior* to, and *independent* of *any* Conſiderations of this Nature. This was only a *collateral* Argument or Motive for the *Roman* Converts to ſubmit to it the more *chearfully*, becauſe of its *Utility*.

5. He concludes with his uſual Decency, that Saint *Paul* was groſly miſtaken in his Aſſertion, that all Power was of and from God, and the Ordinance of God; ſeeing that *Man*, and not *God* was the *Author* of *all* the *Forms* of Government both *then*, and *now* exiſting in the World.

Theſe are the ſeveral Poſitions of his Argument; to which I have endeavoured to do *impartial* Juſtice; and I do not know, that I have *concealed* the *leaſt* Circumſtance, which could make for his Cauſe. I ſhall not ſpend Time in *criticizing* upon particular Parts of his Objections, though I think there is ſome Room for it; but I ſhall endeavour to give the Subject ſuch a *Turn*, by a *previous* State of the Caſe, as, according to my Judgment, will make the whole *Fabrick* of his Argument *fall to Pieces* of itſelf.

Mr. *Chubb* did not think proper to give us a *previous* State of the Queſtion. Was this *conſiſtent* with his *repeated* Profeſſions, that he was *ſincerely* ſeeking after Truth? He, or any Man muſt have known, that without this, we unavoidably take the Words, in all *Caſes* of *Diſpute*, *according* to our *modern*

Ideas, Syſtems, and Controverſies, however *different* theſe may be from thoſe in antient Times, to which the Words had their *peculiar* Reference. Surely this is putting Things in a wrong Light, or at leaſt ſhameleſsly neglecting the *neceſſary* Means of *Information*. I ſhall therefore endeavour

1. To lay before the Reader, the Opinion of the *Jews* concerning the *Right* and *Title* of the *Meſſiah* to the *Crown* and *Kingdom* of *Iſrael*. It has been afore ſet forth in the *firſt* Diſſertation, what were the *general* Notions, and *earneſt* Expectations of this People, concerning the great Perſonage who was ſhortly to appear among them. I ſhall now therefore proceed to obſerve, that they deemed him to be BORN *King of the Jews*. He therefore, they ſuppoſed, had a *prior* and an *indefeaſible* Right, which no *Conqueſt*, *Ceſſion*, or *Settlement* could ſet aſide. To convince any Man of this, let us but obſerve, that when the Tidings firſt came of his *Birth*, *Herod* the King, and all *Jeruſalem* were greatly *alarmed*. The original Term is ἐταράχθη, *troubled*; but which ſignifies both a *Commotion* of Spirit, as well as a *Conſternation*. *Herod* was doubtleſs in a *Conſternation* at the Report of the Birth of a Perſon, whom He, and all the Jews looked upon as his RIVAL, coming to *dethrone* him, and to *reſtore the Kingdom to Iſrael*. But the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*, who bore a mortal Antipathy to

to *Herod*, and who expected to be the *greateſt* Sharers in the *Glories* and *Honours* of the *Meſſiah's* Kingdom, felt in their Breaſts very *different* Senſations on that Occaſion. They were *moved*, or *troubled*, it is true, as that may imply ſuch a *Flutter* or *Agitation* of Spirits, as Perſons are ſeized with upon the *firſt Report* of ſome extraordinary *happy* Event; but they were not SORRY, nor did they ſeem at all diſpoſed to *maintain Herod* in *Poſſeſſion*; as plainly appears by the Anſwer of the Chief Prieſts and Scribes, when conſulted by him concerning the *Place* of the *Nativity* of the *Meſſiah*.

But though their Expectations of a *temporal* Meſſiah were not anſwered for this Time; yet their Hopes were no Ways damped: and they were ready to take the *Signal*, whenever any Tokens ſhould appear of his *approaching*. Thus we find, that when the Fame of our Saviour's Miracles began to ſpread abroad, eſpecially that of feeding ſo many Thouſands with a few Barley Loaves, and two ſmall Fiſhes, thoſe who had ſeen the Miracle, projected among themſelves to come, and *take him by Force, and make him a* KING.

But as he always diſclaimed any Pretenſions to *temporal* Dominion, and inſiſted that the *Meſſiah's* Kingdom was not of this World; the ſame Ardency of Paſſion, which puſhed them on to make him a King, now *imbittered* them the more againſt him. Diſappointments

ments of this Nature generally turn to Rage. Some there were among them, as well as the Apoſtles, who, at Times, had truſted in him, *that this was he who would have redeemed Iſrael.* But when they came to underſtand, that he did not intend to undertake *any Redemption* for them, in *their Senſe* of the Word; and that he would not *intermeddle* as to their *temporal* Concerns, though he laid Claim to the Title of being the *King of Iſrael*; they were all in a Flame, and their Reſentment was raiſed to a Degree of Madneſs. Such a Claim as this they deemed to be *Blaſphemy*. And therefore in Order to deſtroy him, they pretended a great Fit of *Loyalty* for *Cæſar*; becauſe they could compaſs their Ends no other Way. *The whole Multitude of them aroſe, and led him unto Pilate, and began to accuſe him ſaying, We found this Fellow perverting the Nation, and forbidding to give Tribute unto Cæſar, ſaying, that he himſelf is Chriſt a King.* It is eaſy to ſee, that this was all *Grimace*. His true Crime *with them* was, that he made himſelf a King, and yet *diſclaimed* a *temporal* Kingdom, and bad them to *continue* paying *Tribute* unto *Cæſar*. Had he *appeared* in the Manner they expected a King of *Iſrael* ſhould appear, they would have ſhewn no ſuch *Loyalty* for *Cæſar*. After this we find the *Saviour of the World* dreſſed by the Soldiers in Robes of *Mock-Majeſty*; which undoubtedly

ly *they* did by Way of *perſonal* Inſult upon *him*. But when Pilate brought him forth in *this Dreſs* to the Chief Prieſts and Officers, I am apt to believe, that it was done by way of *mortifying* them on account of their Expectations of a *temporal* King: and they themſelves ſeem to have been *ſtung to the quick* with the Sarcaſm. For when the Chief Prieſts and Officers beheld him in this Dreſs of *Mock-Majeſty*, *They cried out*, *Crucify him, crucify him. He ought to die becauſe he made himſelf the Son of God. Whoſoever maketh himſelf a King, ſpeaketh againſt Cæſar. We have no King but Cæſar.* Yet we find *Pilate* did not believe them, notwithſtanding this Declaration of their *Loyalty* for *Cæſar*. For when he wrote the *Title* for our Saviour to be put upon his Croſs, he ſtill carried on the Deſign of ridiculing their Notions of a *temporal* Meſſiah, viz. THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS. And when they expoſtulated with him on that Head, ſaying, Write not, *This is the King of the Jews*, but that *he ſaid*, he was the *King* of the *Jews*, he coldly anſwered, *What I have written, I have written.*

After this, when the King of Glory hung upon the Croſs, the Chief Prieſts, Scribes, and Elders mocked and inſulted him, ſaying, *If he be the King of Iſrael, let him now come down from the Croſs, and we will believe him.* Theſe Expreſſions need no Com-

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ment; they sufficiently explain themselves. And I have dwelt the longer on these Incidents in our Lord's History, as they appear to me to be the *faithful Interpreters* of the working of *bitter* Passion and Resentment, which the *Jews felt* in their Breasts on this Occasion; and as they plainly *discover* the *Principles* they went upon, with regard to the *Right* and *Title* of the *Messiah* to the *Crown* and *Kingdom* of *Israel*.

Wherefore 2dly it must appear upon first View, that they could look upon the *Roman* Government in no *other Light*, than as an *Usurpation* which they would *throw off* as soon as ever their *Messiah* would come to *head* their *Armies*. And this *Aversion* of theirs to the *Roman* Government, did not seem so much to arise from a Sense of any *Grievances* they suffered in a *Civil View*, as from its *Want* of a *just* and *rightful* Title. Indeed they might have some *Publick Grievances* besides: [e] but this was not the Thing considered. Their whole *Attention* was ta-

[e] The *Basis* of their *Discontent* and *Disaffection* was certainly the supposed *Want* of a *rightful* Title. If they had any *other* Complaints, they were *swallowed* up in this. And therefore this is the Thing, which in the present Argument is principally to be attended to. Now a *disputed Title* in the *reigning* Powers, and *civil* or *religious* Grievances with respect to the *Body* of the *People*, are in their own Natures very *different* Things. The Powers in *Possession* may have their Titles *controverted* by *other* Persons *out* of Possession; and yet these Powers

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ken up with the Affair of a *disputed Title*. When they demanded of our Lord, *whether it was lawful to pay Tribute unto Cæsar*, or not; the whole Turn of the Discourse plainly declares, that they put the Matter upon the Footing of *Right* and *Title* only. It was a Question about the LAWFULNESS of paying *any* Tribute unto *Cæsar*, *much* or *little*. They did not desire him to give his Judgment concerning the Nature of the Tax, whether it was too *exorbitant*, or *improperly*, or *unequally* laid on; nor yet whether it was a Matter of *Prudence* for them to pay it at

in Possession may act in such a Manner for the *Good* of the People, as that there shall be no *just* Cause to complain of *civil* or *religious* Grievances under their *Administration*. I say, *no just Cause:* For if People complain of those Things under *their* Administration, which they would have *approved* of under another; or at least not have found so *much Fault* with; then it is evident, that there is a *personal* Dislike at the Bottom: Perhaps they look upon them, as having no rightful Title to the Administration at all. If so, those Things which they complain of, are not so much *national* Grievances, as they are made *Pretences* to be, in order to *disguise* their true Sentiments, and to give them a more *plausible* Turn.

But as Powers with a *controverted* Title, may yet act for the *Good* of the *People*; so, on the other hand, it is very possible, that those Powers, whose Right and Title is *universally* acknowledged, may, in the Exercise of their Administration, prove very *tyrannical*, and give *great* and *just* Cause for Complaint. I desire, therefore, that these two Ideas, viz. *disputed Titles* and *national Grievances*, may always be considered as *distinct* Subjects, and never *confounded* together. For on the keeping these Ideas *separate* depends the *true Knowledge* of the Argument. This is the *Master Key*.

that Juncture, and ſo *temporiſe*, till they could have a convenient Seaſon to *throw off* the Yoke; but only whether they might with a *ſafe Conſcience* pay Tribute *at all*. For they looked upon the paying of Tribute, in Strictneſs, to be an *Acknowledgment* of *Cæſar's Right* to *demand* Tribute, and to be ſuch an *avowed* Submiſſion to his Authority and Government, as *precluded* them from ſetting up the Title and Pretenſions of any other *Claimant*. That this was their Notion of paying Tribute, yet further appears from thoſe Words already recited, *Forbiding to give Tribute to Cæſar, ſaying that he himſelf was Chriſt a King:* Where it ſeems very evident, that they looked upon the paying of *Tribute* to *Cæſar* to be *incompatible*, in in *Strictneſs* of *Conſcience*, with an *Attachment* to the *Intereſt* of any other *Competitor*.

Nay, if we conſult *Joſephus, a cotemporary* Hiſtorian (as far as we can learn Things of this Nature from an Author, who purpoſedly *diſguiſed*, and *palliated* the Sentiments of his Countrymen, *accommodating* their Expreſſions, even in Matters of *Religion*, to the *Phraſeology* and *Cuſtoms* of the *Romans*, and in general *concealing* the *true* Reaſons and Motives of the *Jews* in their frequent *Revolts*; leſt the *Romans* ſhould be too much *irritated* againſt them) yet, I ſay, if we conſult even him, we ſhall find, that the true

Cauſe

Cauſe of ſo much Imprudence which ſwayed the whole Nation to revolt, was, [a] *That they had not a King of their* OWN HOUSE *to govern the People with* VALOUR. He is forced to confeſs, that the Country, at this very Time, was over-run with [b] *Cheats* and *Impoſtors*; who ſet themſelves up for Kings, creating great Diſturbances, and drawing vaſt Numbers of Followers after them. He particularly mentions [c] *Judas Gaulanites*, exciting the Natives to a Revolt, and upbraiding them for being ſo abject as to ſubmit to pay Tribute to the *Romans*, or to *ſuffer mortal Men to reign over them after God.* It is certain, *Joſephus* could have ſpoken plainer upon theſe Subjects, if he would. He might have told us, that the *numerous* Bands of *Robbers*, which appeared from Time to Time, were in fact Bands of *rank Enthuſiaſts*, who were *inſtigated* to riſe up in Arms, and to begin their Scenes of *Conqueſts* and *Plunder* by this very Principle of a *Tem-*

[a] Antiq. Jud. Lib. xvii. c. 12. § 6. Ουτως πολλη αφροσυνη ενεπολιτευσε τω εθνει, δια το βασιλεα μηθ' OIKEION εκ ειναι τον καθεξοντα το πληθος ΑΡΕΤΗ.

[b] Lib. xx. c. 7. § 6. Γοητες και απατεωνες. Confer etiam Lib. c. 12. § 8.

[c] De Bello Jud. Lib. ii. c. 8. § 1. τις ανηρ Γαλιλαιος, Ιουδας ονομα, εις αποστασιν ευηθες τους επιχωριους, κακιζων, ει φορον τε Ρωμαιοις τελειν υπομενουσι, και μετα τον θεον οισουσι θνητους δεσποτας.

poral Meſſiah. But he was willing to give things the beſt Colouring they could bear.

But 3dly, It is ſtill *previouſly* neceſſary to obſerve, that the *Chriſtians* and *Jews* were looked upon as the *ſame People* by the *Romans* for ſome conſiderable time after the Appearance of *Chriſtianity* in the World: So that if the *Jews* held any Opinions, which called in *Queſtion* the *Right* and *Title* of the *reigning* Powers, the *Chriſtians* were *ſuppoſed* to do the ſame, and were accordingly *accuſed* of maintaining *ſeditious* Notions, and Principles *ſubverſive* of Government. It was therefore highly expedient, that the firſt Preachers of the Goſpel ſhould *clear themſelves* of this *Imputation*; and make the *Difference* between a *Jew* and a *Chriſtian*, eſpecially in regard to *this* Article, appear to all the World. Nay, it was greatly neceſſary in *another* View; becauſe there was a *Danger*, that there might be *ſome* Grounds for a Part of the Accuſation, on account of the Principles and Behaviour of ſome *Judaizing Chriſtians.* They were very induſtrious in inculcating their Notions into the Chriſtian Converts, and ſometimes too *ſucceſsful*; as may plainly appear from the whole Scope of this Epiſtle of St *Paul* to the *Romans*, and of that to the *Galatians.* In one word, they were for *blending Judaiſm* and *Chriſtianity* together. And I greatly ſuſpect, that the Notion, which ſo generally prevailed among the

firſt

firſt Chriſtians, that *Chriſt* was ſhortly to come and *reign* a *Thouſand Years* upon *Earth*, was a *Relict* of the old *Leaven* of *Judaiſm*. However that be, it was ſufficient to *alarm* the Powers in *Poſſeſſion*, and to cauſe them to look upon *Chriſtians* and *Chriſtianity* with an *evil Eye*. And therefore it was neceſſary both to warn the *Chriſtians* themſelves not to give ear to deluſive Tales of this ſort, and alſo to take off the bad Impreſſion, which ſuch Notions either had cauſed, or might cauſe in others againſt them.

I have now finiſhed what I previouſly propoſed as neceſſary to throw a *proper Light* upon this Subject. And I flatter myſelf, that a common *Engliſh* Reader, bleſſed with *Impartiality* and *Good Senſe*, has already perceived in his own Mind, That the Words and Phraſes of this famous Paſſage of the xiiith of the *Romans*, have greatly altered their *Hue* and *Complexion*, if I may be allowed ſo to expreſs myſelf, from what they appeared, when viewed thro' the *falſe Medium* of *modern* Controverſy. An Houſe built upon the Sand, we are told by the greateſt of Authorities, will not ſtand. Mr. *Chubb's* Edifice has no other Baſis. For he reared it upon the *ſandy* Foundation of *modern* Controverſy. But as we have now ſeen, that the Words had no Manner of Reference to the Caſe of the *common Grievances* of the *People*, but to that of the *diſputed Title* of

the *Prince*, let us re-conſider the Words in *this Light* and this Light *only*.

" Let *every Soul* be *ſubject* to the *higher* " *Powers:* For there is *no Power* but *of* " *God:* The Powers *that be* are *ordained* of " God. *Whoſoever* therefore *reſiſteth* the " Power, *reſiſteth* the *Ordinance* of God: " And they that reſiſt ſhall receive to them- " ſelves *Damnation. For Rulers* are not a " *Terror* to *good Works*, but to the *Evil.* " Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Pow- " er? do that which is good, and thou " ſhall have Praiſe of the ſame. For he is " the *Miniſter of God* to *thee* for *Good.* " But if thou do that which is Evil, be a- " fraid: For he beareth not the Sword in " vain: For he is the Miniſter of God, a " *Revenger* to execute *Wrath* upon him that " *doth Evil.*"

It is now, I think, eaſy to ſee, What is the *main Point* here intended. The *Grand Objection* againſt ſubmitting to the *Powers* in *Poſſeſſion* was, that they had not a *rightful Title*; they were NOT ORDAINED of *God.* But how was the Apoſtle to prove, That they WERE *ordained* of *God* and conſequently had a *rightful Title?* Not ſurely by *vindicating* the *Hoſtilities* of the *Romans* againſt the *Jews*; nor yet by *palliating* the *Perfidy* of the *firſt* of the *Cæſars* againſt the *Romans*, and the *Conſtitution* of his own *Country*; nor by *juſtifying* the *Arts* and *Intrigues*

trigues, the *Violence* and *Iniquity* of the *reſt* of the *Cæſars* to obtain the *Succeſſion* after him; not by *attempting* to *prove*, that the *Original Uſurpation* by *Length* of time and *other* Circumſtances, came at laſt to acquire ſuch a Title, as the People ought *never* to *oppoſe*, or *ſet aſide* in Caſes of *manifeſt* Tyranny and Oppreſſion; nothing of this kind, I ſay, was ſo much as attempted: But the Apoſtle firſt *aſſerts*, that God being the *Fountain* of all Government and Authority, there was no Government, but was *derived* from him; that therefore the Powers in *Poſſeſſion* were *ordained* of God; and conſequently had a *good* Title to the *Obedience* of the Perſons he wrote to.

But how was it to be underſtood, that God was the *Fountain* of ALL Government and Authority? And how did it appear, that the Powers in Poſſeſſion were ORDAINED by him? Theſe were the very *Points* in *Queſtion*. It is natural therefore to aſk, where is the *Proof* of them? It follows in theſe Words, which *explain* and *limit* his *general* Aſſertions; *For Rulers are not a Terror to Good Works, but to the Evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? do that which is Good, and thou ſhalt have Praiſe of the ſame. For he is the Miniſter of God to thee for Good*, &c. Here the Apoſtle explains, for what *Ends* and *uſes* Government in *General* is derived from God;

and for what Reaſons in particular the Powers in *preſent* Poſſeſſion ſhould be looked upon as his *Ordinance*. The *Magiſtrate* [in general] is the Miniſter of God for *Good*.

Wilt thou not be *afraid* of the [preſent] *Powers? do* that which is *Good*, and thou ſhalt have Praiſe of the *ſame*. The *Jews* before this, had obeyed, as they intimated plainly enough, only through *Fear* and *Compulſion*, not out of *Choice* and *Good Will*. But St. *Paul* here tells them, they had no Cauſe to *fear* from a *Good* Government, if they would act the Part of *Good* Subjects. They had long been diſputing the *Ground* or *Foundation* of *Cæſar's* Title, or, according to their Phraſe, of his being *ordained of God:* And the Apoſtle here ſhews them, how they might *end* the Diſpute with *Certainty* and *Expedition*. And this he did in *a way* they leaſt expected. For he did not put the Matter upon *Cæſar's Original* Right, or his *better* Title than any other *Claimant*, who either *did*, or *might* appear; But upon *Cæſar's preſent* Poſſeſſion, and his [a] *Good* Adminiſ-

[a] When the Apoſtle wrote this Epiſtle, there were not thoſe Objections of *Male Adminiſtration* againſt *Nero* which there were afterwards. He *began* to reign well, but then *degenerated*. Beſides, if *Nero's* Government, at *that Juncture*, anſwered the *Ends* of Government *in general*, and was not *particularly bad*, it was enough to juſtify all that the Apoſtle has here advanced concerning it. For the objection of the *Jews*

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tration *while* in Poſſeſſion. The Affair of *Title*, which ſo *perplexed* the *Jews*, was, according to the Apoſtle's Argument, to be *no Part* of their Concern. They were to *obey* the Powers in being, when theſe Powers ruled them *well*. And if the Governors came *unjuſtly* to the *Acquiſition* of ſuch Power, *that* was their *own proper* Concern: And *they alone* were to *anſwer* for it. So that the Apoſtle's Argument, if put into a *Syllogiſtick* Method, and drawn out in *Form*, would run thus:

I.

Thoſe Powers which are ordained of God, ought to be obeyed, and not reſiſted.
The preſent Powers are ordained of God:
Therefore the preſent Powers ought to be obeyed, and not reſiſted.

II.

Thoſe Powers which anſwer the general Ends of Government, are ordained of God;
The preſent Powers anſwer the general Ends of Government;

was *againſt* his *Title*, not *againſt* his *Adminiſtration*: Therefore in Anſwer to this, St. *Paul* obſerves, that the Advantages of Government in *general* were a ſufficient *Juſtification* of the *Obedience* of the Subject to *ſuch* Governors, be their *Title* what *it would*: And in ſo doing he precluded all their *Pretences* of *Religion* and *Conſcience* for *revolting*.

Therefore

Therefore the preſent Powers are ordained of God.

This, I ſay, is plainly the Apoſtle's Argument, when drawn out in *Form*. But Mr. *Chubb* has ſtill his Objections againſt it, *viz.* That it was a known Matter of Fact, that the Powers then in Poſſeſſion were the *Ordinance* of *Men*; whereas the Apoſtle aſſerted, that they were *ordained* of *God*. And I ſuppoſe, had Mr. *C.* foreſeen, that the whole *Fabrick* of his other Objections would be *demoliſhed* by ſhewing that he proceeded upon a *wrong* State of the Caſe, he would have added ſomething as to the Affair of *diſputed Titles*. Very probably he would have urged, that *Cæſar's* Title was a *very bad* one, though the Apoſtle here calls it the *Ordinance* of *God*; thereby *juſtifying* a manifeſt *Uſurpation*. For the *Conſent* both of the *Jews* to the *Romans* and of the *Romans* to the *Cæſars* was either *extorted* by *Force*, or *fraudulently* obtained; and would not have been deemed *valid* by the *Sentence* of *any Court* of *Juſtice*, if there had been an *higher* Court to *appeal* to. This Matter therefore may be looked upon as *another* Objection, which undoubtedly he would have made, had he foreſeen that his former could have been ſo *effectually* confuted. I will not decline the anſwering both the one, and the other. And,

1. As to that Poſition of Saint *Paul*, that Government in general, and the *Roman* in parti-

particular, was the *Ordinance* of God: It is certain, that God himself is the *great King* and *moral Governor* of the Universe. But he doth not preside over this lower World in an *immediate* and *direct* Manner, as he did formerly over the Nation of the *Jews*. He doth not administer *Rewards* and *Punishments during* this *Life*, in a *judicial* Way: But hath *delegated* this Power to the *Magistrates* to act in *his Name*. But how hath he delegated it? Not by a *personal* Nomination, I grant: But by giving Men the *Instinct* or *Inclination* to *form* themselves into *Societies* for their *mutual* Benefit, and by bestowing upon them the *Use* of *Reason* to *direct* this Instinct to its *proper End*. Thus is Government the *Ordinance* of *God*. He gave Men *Inclinations*, he gave them the *Use* of *Reason*: And when such an *Application* is made of both, as *answers* the *general* End of Government, he gives a *Sanction* and *Authority* to it; and *constitutes* the *Magistrate* his *Minister* and *Representative* to the People for *Good*. The *Authority* therefore of Government is derived *solely* from *God*: But as to the *Form* of it, this is *another* Question: *Forms* of *Government* are the *Workmanship* of *Men*, and may be as *various* as we please, *provided* they answer the *great* End for which *all* Government was ordained of God, *viz.* The *Good* of the *People*. I hope Mr. *C.* himself would not have objected to this Solution of his Difficulty. But

But 2dly it may yet be objected, that the *Roman* Government was a *manifeſt Uſurpation*; and therefore could have *no* Authority derived from God, who *cannot* give a *Sanction* to *Injuſtice*.

I will not deny, but that the *Roman* Government was *founded* on Uſurpation; and yet I think I can clearly maintain, that it was the *Duty* of the *Subjects* to *obey* it, as *long* as it anſwered the *general* Ends of Government to *them*. The *Juſtification* of *Cæſar's Title* againſt *other* Claimants, and the *Juſtification* of the People in rendring *Obedience* to *Cæſar*, are two *very different* Things. And I am only concerned to defend the *latter*. *Cæſar's* Government might have an Authority derived from God, as *far as* would juſtify the *Obedience* of the *Subject*, but not juſtify the *Manner* by which he *acquired* the *Poſſeſſion* of it.

To conſider this Matter a little more *diſtinctly*: Let it be obſerved, that when God has implanted in Men both *Reaſon* and *Inclination*, for the *attaining* certain *good* Ends and Uſes, he *approves* of the *right Adminiſtration* of ſuch Things *after* the Attainment of them: But very probably he *diſapproved* of *many* of the Steps and Means *previouſly* put in Practice to *attain* them. To give an Inſtance of this in the Caſe of *Matrimony*. *Reaſon* and *Inclination*, which are the *Gifts* of God, we will ſuppoſe have brought both Parties

Parties to make the *Marriage Vow*. This End is *good*; and therefore the *Attainment* of it in a *right* Way, is *commendable*; but ſuppoſe it is attained by *Flattery* and *falſe Arts*; ſuppoſe that *many indirect* Ways are made *Uſe of* to compaſs it; then it cannot be ſaid, that the Attainment of ſuch an End, in *that Way*, was *juſtifiable*. And yet *after* the attaining of it, the *Marriage* is *equally valid* with *any* other. Now Marriage and Government are both the *Ordinances* of *God*, when their *reſpective* Ends are anſwered in the Adminiſtration of them. But as to any of the *diſhoneſt* Arts and *wrong* Meaſures *previouſly* made uſe of, let it not be ſaid, that God doth *juſtify*, or even *connive* at them. And their own Authors will certainly *anſwer* for them. But nevertheleſs, this doth not *diſannul* the *Eſtabliſhment*, now it is *made*, or *cancel* the *Obligations* which the reſpective Parties have *entered* into. So far therefore the Caſe is parallel; and explains, how a Government *obtained* at *firſt* by *unjuſt* Meaſures, may nevertheleſs be deemed the *Ordinance* of God to the People for Good, after it is *peaceably* ſettled and eſtabliſhed. And this agrees with that well known Maxim, *Factum valet, quod fieri non debuit*. Note; I do not bring the Caſe of Marriage as a Parallel in *all* Reſpects, but only in *one:* And in *that* I apprehend the Argument to be very *juſt* and *concluſive*.

But

But ſuppoſe it further urged, that in Caſes of *Uſurpation*, the People were under a *Precontract* to their *former* Prince, and therefore not *at Liberty* to enter into *new* Engagements with the Uſurper. Now this is carrying the Argument deduced from the Caſe of Matrimony *farther* than the Parallel *will go*; and therefore is *nothing* to the Purpoſe. For the People *cannot* be under a *Contract* to the *reigning* Powers, *any longer* than they are the *reigning* Powers. The *End* of Government, as hath been afore obſerved, is the *Good* of the *People*: But the *reigning* Powers are only the *Means* to attain this End; and conſequently the *Contract* can be in *Force* no *longer* than while *that End* is *anſwered*. The *Magiſtrate* may be looked upon either as a a *Political* Father, by *Appointment*, for the *good Government* of the Subject; or as a *Proprietor*, who has a *Right* to the *Crown* in *Subordination* to the *Rights* of the *People*. Now in *either* Reſpect, his *Office*, and his *Right* ceaſes of courſe, as far as *concerns* the People, when they cannot reap thoſe Advantages from them, which they ought to have done. He received theſe Things by Way of *Compenſation* for the Good *communicated* to the People by *Means* of his *Adminiſtration*. But if he can no longer *fulfil* his Engagements, he has no longer a *Right* to thoſe *Prerogatives* and *Emoluments* which were *deſigned* to be the *Rewards* of *fulfilling* them. It is to no Purpoſe to ſay, that this

this is not *his Fault*; and therefore he ought not to be *deprived* of them: That may be true, if urged *againſt* the *Uſurper*: But it is nothing to the *People*: *They* do him *no Injuſtice*. His *Paternity* and his *Property* were Rights *ſubordinate* to *theirs*; and therefore if *both* are *incompatible*, which muſt *give Place?* The great Maxim of the Law is, *Rex eſt major ſingulis, minor univerſis*. And undoubtedly the *Means* are *inferior* to the *Ends* for which they were *ordained*. Now the People have a *perpetual* and *unalienable* Relation to the *Ends* of Government, *i. e.* They have *always* a *Right* to be *governed well*, be the Governors *who* they *will*. But their Relation to the *Means*, to the *particular* Governors, ſubſiſt no longer, than *while* they are *Means*: *i. e.* during the Time they can properly *protect* and *defend* their Subjects. Wherefore if it ſhould happen, that a *ſtronger* Power ſhould *ſubdue* them, or *drive* them *out*, [h] *notwithſtanding all the Efforts of the Subject to the contrary*, they then *ceaſe* to be the

[h] It is both the Doctrine of Scripture and of Reaſon (as it is alſo a Part of the Conſtitution of our own Kingdom; ſee the Stat. 11 of *Henry* VII. c. 1) to *defend* the King for the *Time being* with *all* our Might, againſt all *Invaders*. So that a *rightful* Prince has *nothing* to *fear*, and *every thing* to *hope* from this Principle, *as long* as he rules *well*. The Subject will not turn againſt him in Favour of any other, whilſt he governs *agreable* to the *Charter* received from God, of being his *Miniſter for good*.

Means

Means of *Protection* and *Defence* to the *People*. And consequently the Connection or Relationship is *dissolved* of Course: So that the People commit no Act of *Injustice* towards their *late* Governors, by seeking out a *new* Protection, when *their's fail:* And the whole *Blame*, whatever it is, must *rest* upon the *Usurper*.

Thus have I endeavoured to vindicate St. *Paul's* Argument in every Light that it appeared to me. The Powers *that be*, when they are the *Ministers* of *Good* to the People, are *ordained* of *God*. This is the *best Politicks*, as well as *true Divinity*. For after all, let me ask, upon what *other* Footing do the *Titles* of *all* the Governments around us this Day subsist? If it is said, that *long Prescription* has given them a *Right:* I ask, what has given a *Right* to *Prescription?* The Answer must be, for there is no other, It was the PUBLICK GOOD, the *ultimate End* of Government. That indeed is *very just:* But then I must observe, it is the *Thing itself* I am here *contending* for.

Some there are among us, who call in Question the *Justice* of the Measures *pursued* at the *Revolution*. I will not here enter upon a Vindication of their *Expediency*, and even *Necessity* (tho' both appear very clear to me, And if we date the Origin of our *Present* Government from *that time*, I think it is evident, that it has a *better* and a *fairer* Title,

Title, if we go *back* to the *Origin* of *Titles*, than *moſt others* in the *known World.)* But I will allow for Argument's ſake, that the Meaſures taken at the Revolution, were *not* to be *juſtified:* Let us now ſee, what is to be *gained* by this *Conceſſion*. Were thoſe at the *Norman Conqueſt*, or *Saxon Invaſion*, to be *juſtified?* Suppoſe all the *three* Events were *cotemporary*, the *Norman Conqueſt*, the *Saxon Invaſion*, and the *Revolution*; and that we *muſt* deduce the *Origin* of *our Government*, and the *Title* of the *reigning* Powers from *one*, or *other* of them: I would aſk the moſt *bigotted* Perſon againſt the *Revolution*, which is the *leaſt exceptionable* of the *three?*

Some have alſo been weak enough to conclude, that the *Saxon*, *or Norman* Uſurpations have acquired a juſt Title, *independent of the Publick Good and the Conſent of the People*, by means of the *Deaths* or *Ceſſions* of the *rightful* Claimants. But ſuppoſe, that *all* the rightful Claimants are dead, or deſtroyed by the Uſurper: doth it therefore follow, that he hath a *Good* Title? or that the Subject is *barred* from chooſing *another* to fill the *vacant* Throne? What Right can the *Uſurper* acquire by the Death or Deſtruction of a Perſon, whom he had no Right to ſucceed? But the Suppoſition here made, is *not true* in fact: For there are *ſeveral* Families now *ſubſiſting*, who pretend to trace their *Pedigrees* from the antient *Britiſh* Princes;

and could make out a much more *plauſible* Title, upon the Footing of an *indefeaſible hereditary Right*, than any of our Kings *preceding* the Revolution. As to the *Ceſſions*, which they have made by taking the Oaths to the reigning Powers, the Perſons, with whom I am now contending, have taught them to look upon *ſuch* things as *void* and *null:* And the *Behaviour* of the Houſe of *York* towards the *Lancaſtrian Kings* may furniſh them with a Precedent. Thus it evidently appears, That if Perſons will object to the Government founded on the Revolution, as if it wanted a *rightful Title*, they muſt object to the Government *preceding it*, for the *ſame* reaſon. But if they will ſay, that the Powers then in being were the Ordinance of God, *becauſe* they were the *Miniſters* of *God* for *Good*; and will *reſt* the *Title* of the *Prince*, and the *Obedience* of the Subject upon *that Baſis*; they will *do well:* And we will *join Iſſue* with them; for this is the *very thing* we *contend for* in relation to the *preſent* Powers. This likewiſe is St. *Paul's* expreſs Direction; *Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher Powers;— the Powers that be;— the Miniſters of God to thee for Good.*

And now, as we have examined at large into the *true* Meaning of this famous Paſſage of the xiii^th^ to the *Romans*, and endeavoured to obviate every Objection, that could be made

made againſt it, let us briefly enquire, with what *Propriety* it has been ſo *differently applied* by Controvertiſts of *late Years*, to *juſtify* their reſpective Schemes.

1. It has been *applied* by the *Favourers* and *Partiſans* of the *abdicated* Family to *juſtify* Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance in Caſes of *Civil* and *National Grievances*, and to *condemn* the *Meaſures* taken at the *Revolution* to redreſs them. But how can this be made out? Did thoſe Perſons, engaged in the Revolution, *queſtion* the *Title* of King *James* to ſucceed to the Crown, or ſet up the Title of the *Prince* of *Orange* in *Oppoſition* to his? Far from it. They allowed, that he had a Title, and a *good* Title to *govern*: But *not* to govern *wrong*. They *acknowledged*, that he was the *Ordinance* of God, *as long* as he was the [m] *Miniſter of God*

[m] It has greatly *perplexed* the Advocates for the Doctrine of unlimited Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance, to anſwer this plain Queſtion; How can Kings be the Ordinances of God in *doing wrong?* What Commiſſion have they *from him*, over and above that of being the *Miniſters* to the People *for good?* And all the Anſwer, which they have hitherto been able to give is this: That as a Judge, or Viceroy doth not *vacate* his *Commiſſion* by his *illegal* Proceedings, *contrary* to the *Tenor* of that Commiſſion; till his Sovereign *ſuperſedes* or *revokes* it: So here, the Prince ſtill *continues* to be the *Miniſter* of *God*, though he *acts* ever ſo *contrary* to the *Laws* of God, till he calls him away by *Death*, to give an Account of the Truſt committed to him. This, I ſay, is the *utmoſt*, which both Mr. *Kettlewell*, and (if

to them for Good. They did not proceed upon the Affair of *disputed Titles* at all; but upon that of *Publick and National Grievances.* How then can this Paſſage, which wholly turns upon the Affair of *diſputed Titles*, and which *ſuppoſes*, that there is *no Objection* made as to *National Grievances*, which alſo *grounds* the *Submiſſion* to the *reigning* Powers upon their *anſwering* the *Ends* of Government, how is it poſſible, I ſay, that this Paſſage could be ſo far *miſtaken*, as to be brought ſo confidently by them to *condemn* the *Revolution?* It might with *more* Propriety be brought to prove *Tranſubſtantiation:* For

my Memory fails not) a late *great Prelate* in his *Latin* Sermon, in Anſwer to Bp. *Hoadley's Meaſures of Submiſſion*, could muſter up. But cannot any one ſee, at firſt View, the *Weakneſs* and *Inconcluſiveneſs* of this Argument? What Pretence can there be to draw a *Parallel* between the Caſe of the *King* of *Kings*, and *mortal Sovereigns* in this Reſpect? The very *Reaſon* and *Ground*, why *good* Princes here on Earth do not *revoke* the Commiſſions given to their Miniſters the *Moment* they act contrary to them is, becauſe they muſt *firſt know* what is laid to their Charge, and then *hear* what the *Accuſed* have to ſay in their own *Vindication.* And therefore it muſt be a *Work* of *Time*, before they can *withdraw* their *Authority* delegated to *unfaithful* Servants. But doth the *great God* want *Informations*, before he is to *determine*, whether his *Commiſſioner* is *worthy* to be *continued* any longer? Surely he that made the Eye, *can ſee:* And he that made the Ear *can hear.* He knows the downſitting and upriſing of *every Prince* in his Kingdom, and underſtandeth their Thoughts *long before.* Whither then ſhall they go from his *Spirit?* Whither can they flee from his *Preſence?*

though

though it proves nothing *for* that Doctrine, yet it proves nothing *directly againſt* it: Whereas in this Caſe the whole Turn, and *peculiar* Emphaſis of the Argument is *quite contrary* to what they intended to prove by it.

2. It has been, and is now *applied* by the *Friends* of the *preſent* Government to juſtify Obedience to it, *as far* as *regards* Title, and to require the *Abjuration* of the *Title* of any other *Pretender*. This appears at firſt View to be an entirely *different* State of the Queſtion from the former. For theſe Perſons do not apply the Paſſage to countenance *abſolute* Paſſive Obedience, and Non-reſiſtance, in Caſes of [m] *Real* and *National* Grievances, but

[m] A great many Difficulties have been ſtarted upon this Head by thoſe who have eſpouſed the cauſe of the abdicated Family. They have demanded, with an Air of Triumph, what is a *real* and *national Grievance?* What *Criterion* is there to diſtinguiſh *that* from an *imaginary* one? How *great* and *general* muſt a *Grievance* be to *juſtify* a *Revolution?* Are the *Populace* to be the *Judges* of the *Exigences* of Government and *Affairs* of *State?* What *Security* is there, that they may not be *practiſed* upon by *ambitious* and *deſigning* Men, who vail over their own *deſtructive* Projects with the *ſpecious* Names of *Patriotiſm* and *Liberty?* What Government therefore can *ſubſiſt* upon *ſuch* Principles? And then they cloſe the whole with a *kind* Caution to the *preſent* Government, out of their *great* Tenderneſs and Regard to it, to *beware* of the Men, who vent ſuch *Republican Notions:* They are *dangerous*, *factious* Spirits, *very bad* Subjects to *every* Government, and *never* ought to be *truſted*. Now

to condemn *Disobedience* to, and *Resistance* against the present Government, the *Powers that be*, on Account of the *Pretensions* of any *other* Claimant. And from the *previous*

Now there is a *short* and *satisfactory* way of answering these *Declamatory* Objections, without being engaged in endless *Altercations* about them. As first seeing that there is *nothing* in this *present* State *free* from *Imperfections*; the *wise* and *prudent* Choice is, to have Recourse to *such Measures*, as are subject to the *least*. 2dly, That as Government was designed for the *Good* of the *People*, the *Body* of the *Nation*, or their *Representatives*, are the *best* Judges, *when*, and *how far* this end is *answered*. They are not *infallible*; and yet they are much *likelier* to be *right* in *judging* of their own *Happiness*, or their own *Misery*, and have *fewer* Biasses to turn them from the *Truth*, than the *Favourites* and *Dependants* of a Court. 3dly, That if a *Calculation* was made, and a *Register* kept, of *all* the *Inconveniencies* attending a *mixed* Government, such as ours, where the Body of the People are the *ultimate* Judges of the *publick Good*, and the Inconveniencies attending an *arbitrary despotick* Government where the People have *no Share*, but to *suffer* and *obey*; It would be found, that the Inconveniences of the *latter* vastly *exceed* those of the *former*. 4thly, That the *Experience* of near *Sixty* Years hath now *demonstrated*, that a Government *can subsist* upon these Principles; and that the *Men*, who maintain them, are no otherwise *Republicans*, or *bad Subjects*, than as they maintain, that the Publick Good is the *end* of all Government. 5thly, That they do not expect *Perfection* from any thing that is *human*. They know how to set a *right value* upon an *Administration* that is *good* in the *Main*. They are sensible, that *most* of the evils *complained of*, are what *Disaffection* have made *necessary*, and therefore they *ascribe* them *to it*, as their *true Cause*.

State

State of the Queſtion, and the whole Reaſoning upon it, it evidently appears, that the Paſſage is *full* and *direct*, and is a *Caſe* in *Point* to *juſtify Obedience* to the preſent Government, and to *condemn Reſiſtance* againſt it on Account of *Title*, even in thoſe, who *diſpute* the *Juſtice* of the Meaſures taken at the *Revolution*. For even *they* are told by Saint *Paul* in *expreſs* Words, that it is their *Duty* to *ſubmit* to the Powers *that be*, as *long as* they are the *Miniſters* of *God* for *Good*, and to *revere* their *Title*, as being the *Ordinances* of God. As to thoſe, who *approve* of the *Revolution*, *they* need *no Exhortation* to ſubmit to a Government of their own *chooſing*; and nothing need be ſaid to *them* in Juſtification of a *Title*, which they *prefer*, and ſurely with *great Juſtice*, to *any other*.

But Mr. *Chubb* has not yet done with his Objections. For he ſays in the Body of his Book, that *abſolute* Paſſive obedience and Non-reſiſtance is the Doctrine of the *Church of England*. One thing I am ſure of, that the Doctrine I have been maintaining as to Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance reſpecting *Controverted Titles*, is the Doctrine both of the *Church* and *State* of *England*, having been made a part of the Conſtitution both by *Common* and *Statute Laws*, and the *Decrees* of *Convocation*. As to Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance in the *other* ſenſe, I ſhall only obſerve, that whatever Expreſſions

may appear up and down in our *Homilies*, which *ſeem* to require this Interpretation; yet we ſhall find, that theſe, when we conſider the *Occaſion* of them, were rather intended to require a *Submiſſion* to the reigning Princes on account of their *Titles*, if any Pretenders ſhould riſe up to diſpute them, than a Submiſſion to them in Caſes of *bad Government*. The *Calumnies* of the *Papiſts* againſt the *Proteſtants* at firſt, made it neceſſary, that the Sacredneſs of the Office and Character of Sovereigns ſhould be expreſſed in *very high* Terms. For they repreſented the *Proteſtants*, as aiming, under the Pretence of Religion, to throw off their *Allegiance*, and *ſet up* for *themſelves*. And after this, the Pretenſions of the *Popes* to *diſpoſe* of the Crowns of our Princes, becauſe they were *Hereticks*, continued the Neceſſity of ſpeaking in very *exalted* Language, of the *Obligations* to *Obedience*, and the *Guilt* of *Diſobedience*. But it is evident, that all this was done on the *ſcore* of *Title*. As to Non-reſiſtance in Caſes of *Publick and National Grievances*, certain it is, that if the Clergy in Q. *Elizabeth's* time ſhall be allowed to judge for themſelves, in their *Publick Acts of Convocation*, they did not underſtand thoſe Expreſſions in our Homilies in that *rigorous* Senſe. Witneſs their aſſiſting the *French*, *Scotch*, and *Dutch* Subjects againſt their reſpective Sovereigns by *Taxes* and *Subſidies*,

as well as by *written* Defences and Juſtifications: Witneſs likewiſe the Principles of the *judicious Hooker* relating to Government: Witneſs alſo what the Biſhops *Jewel* and *Bilſon* have ſaid in reference to theſe Subjects.

The CONCLUSION.

Thus much I thought expedient to obſerve in relation to Mr. *Chubb's* Cavils againſt theſe two Paſſages of Scripture, *Luke* xiv. and *Rom* xiii. The Reaſon why I ſingled them out from the reſt, was, becauſe I thought he had ſaid more *plauſible* things againſt *them*, than againſt any other; and that his Objections were ſuch, as might have a *bad effect* upon *weak* Minds, who are apt to be ſtartled at a Difficulty they cannot maſter. As to Mr. *Chubb* himſelf, he was certainly a Perſon of good Parts; and it were to be wiſhed, that he had made a *right uſe* of them. However, I cannot think, that his *Judgment* was ſo *ſolid* and *penetrating*, as the World has generally conceived. He had a *clear* Head in methodizing, and an *happy* Talent in repreſenting his Argument to the beſt Advantage: But his great Deficiency was, that he wanted Diſcernment to purſue an Argument thro' all its Difficulties and Turnings, and wanted the *Humility* to *condeſcend* to receive *Information* from others. As the *Train* of Ideas *lay* in his own Mind, ſo he judged they *lay*, or *ought* to lye in the Minds of others; without making the neceſſary Allowance for the Difference

Difference of *Times*, *Places*, *Cuſtoms*, and the *faculties* of *different* Men. With this *Fundamental* Error he went on. He viewed every Object thro' one End of the Teleſcope, and thought it neceſſary for all Mankind to do the ſame. Hence aroſe his *Poſitiveneſs* about *Fitneſſes*, *Relations*, &c. Which at the bottom amounted to no more than this, that *if* other Men ſaw things *preciſely* in the ſame Light that he did, without taking in, or leaving out any *other* Ideas, then the *Fitneſs*, the *Relation*, and the *Truth* of the Caſe was ſo and ſo: Which indeed might frequently be allowed him; and yet his Obſervations be very *impertinent* and *inconcluſive*, as ariſing, *not* from a *full*, but a *partial* View of the Subject in Debate.

But what was ſtill worſe, he not only erred thro' the want of a *due Conſideration* of *all* Circumſtances neceſſary to be *attended* to; but he was alſo continually *ſhifting* and *varying* his Opinions, without correcting the *main* Error. Every *new* Pamphlet or Treatiſe came forth with a *new* ſet of *Fitneſſes*, *Reaſons*, and *Relations*; which were inſiſted upon with as *poſitive* and *dogmatical* a Spirit, as thoſe before. This was the Man, who was to lead us into *all* Truth; this was he, who was to give us a *Specimen* of the *Powers* and *Strength* of *Human* Reaſon, and the *Weakneſs* and *Uncertainty* of the *Chriſtian* Revelation.

F I N I S.

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